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W. Russell
**THE
GATLING GUN.**

BY

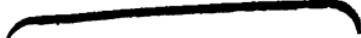
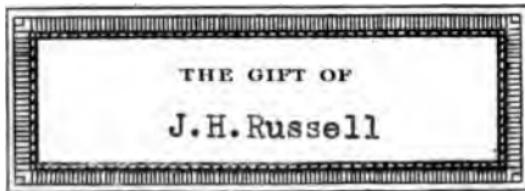
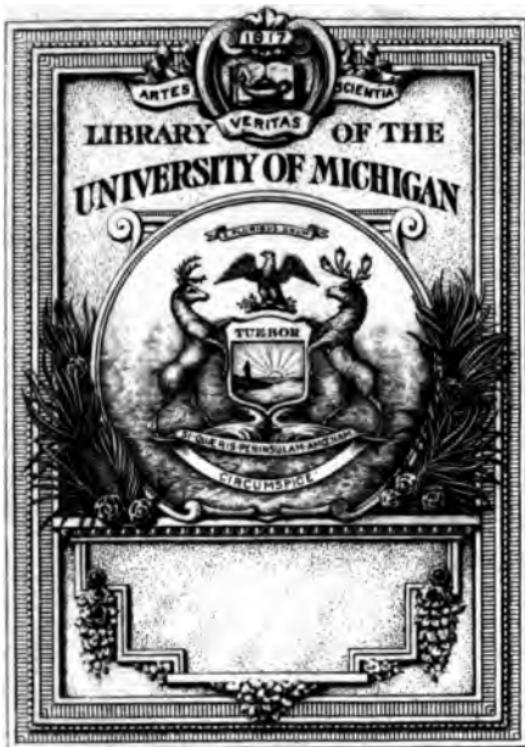
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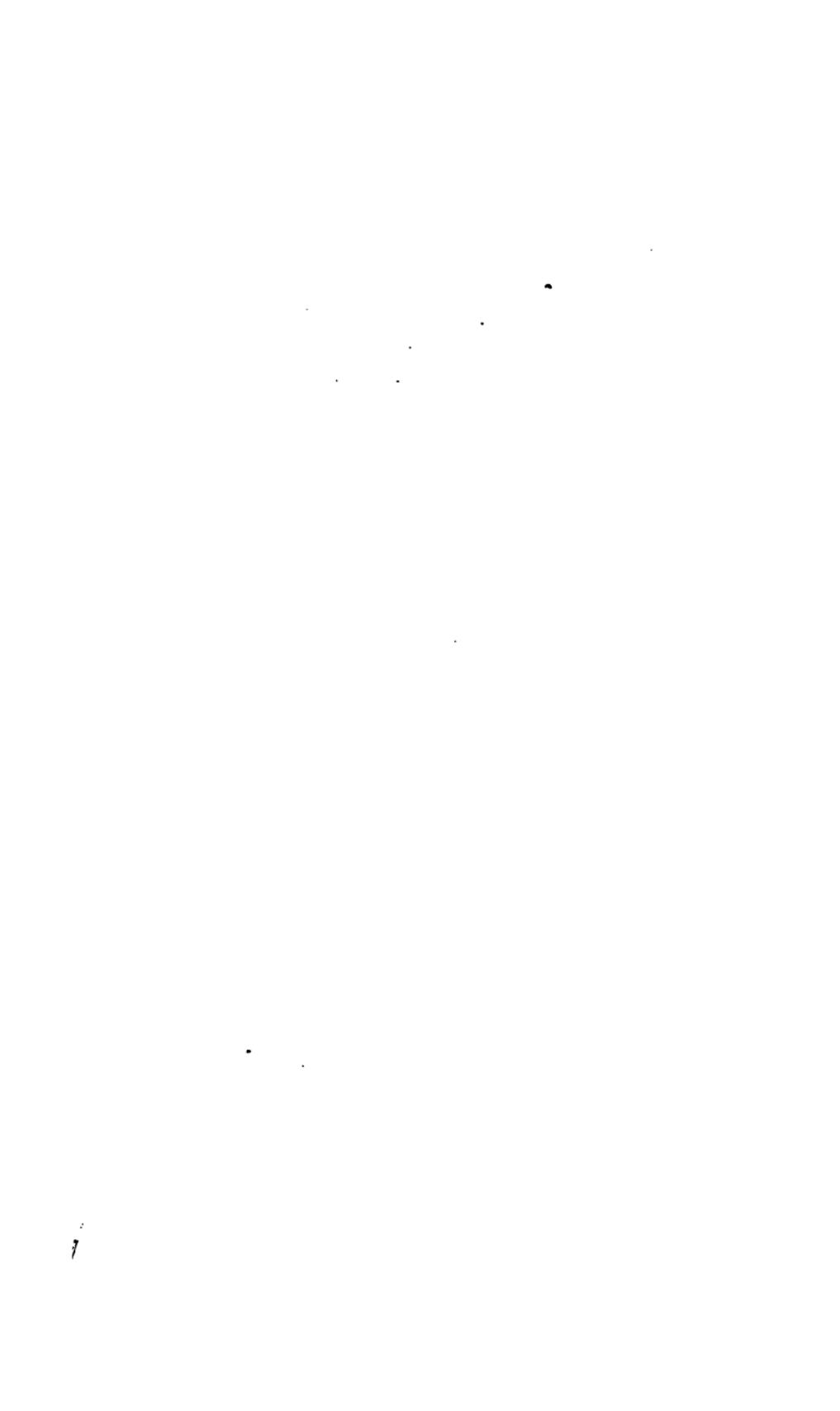
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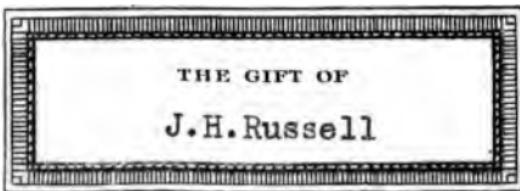
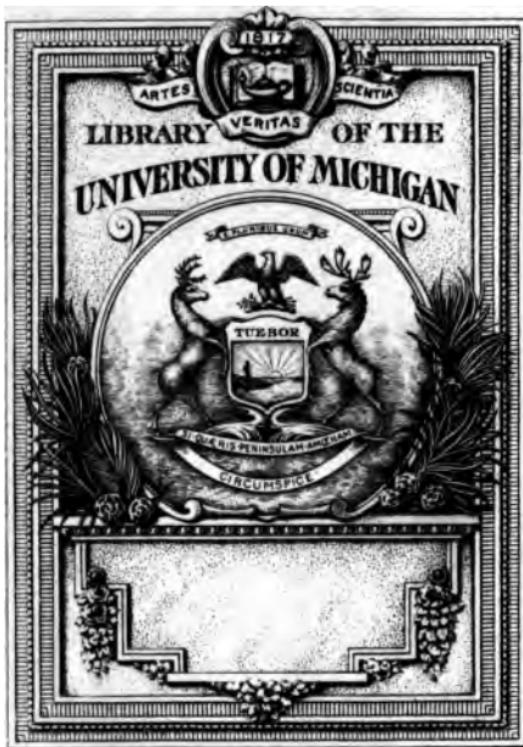
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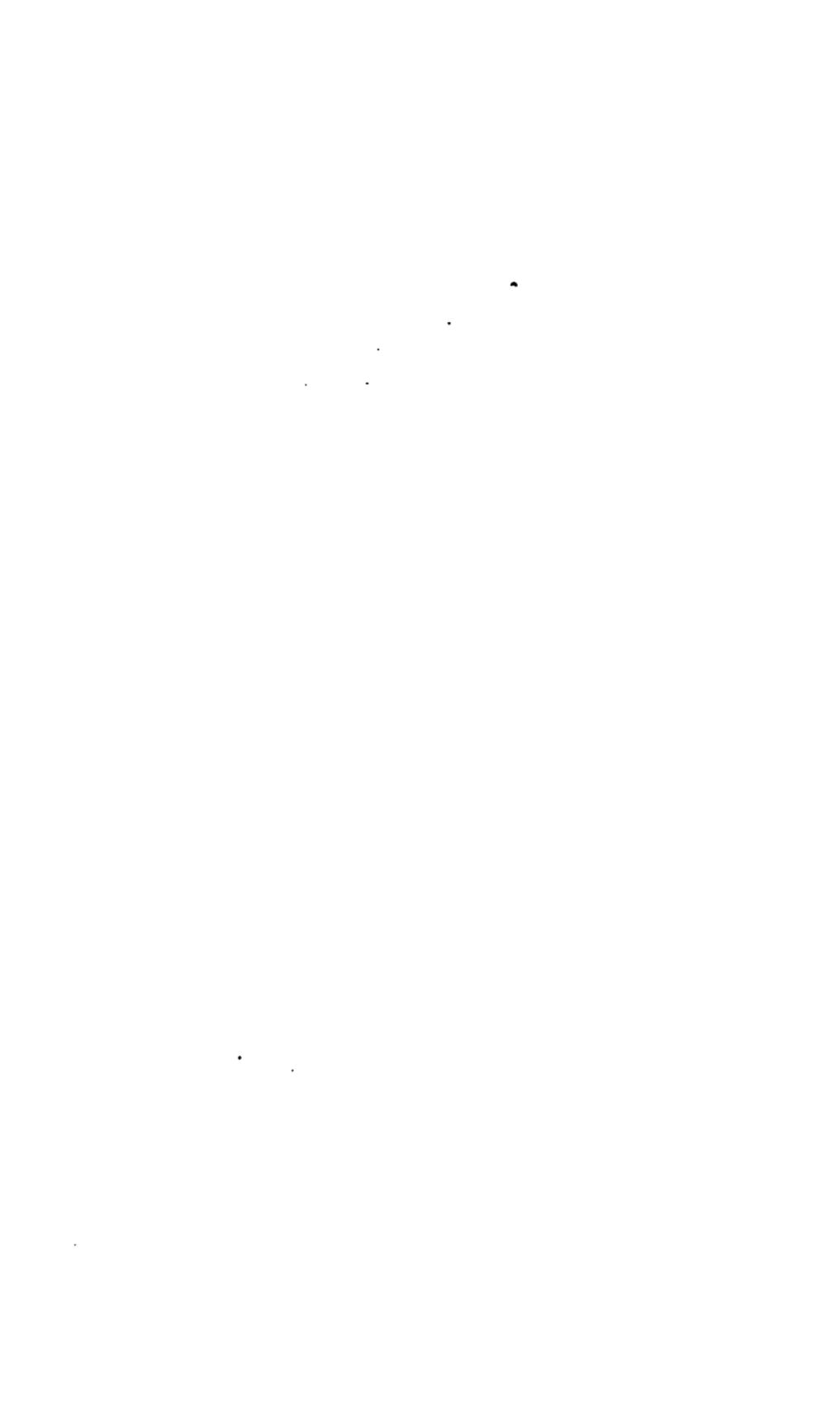
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1891.









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THE GATLING GUN.

BY

REV. I. VILLARS, D. D.,

Ex-President of McKendree College, and Author of "The Resurrection Life," "The Irrepressible Conflict in Politics," Etc.

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1891.

PREFACE.

THE following lectures have been delivered in various parts of this country, East and West, and are published substantially as delivered, with the exception of five or six quotations which are given in full in the book, while in the delivery they were simply referred to.

The author knows that the publication as well as delivery of these lectures means sacrifice. One truthfully said: "Though at times popularity may follow in the wake of a reformer, yet the reformer knows popularity is not love." The title of this little book is significant; suggested by one who heard the lectures and whose judgment is worthy of respect.

The original Gatling gun is a "machine gun," says Webster, "invented in 1861-62." "It is composed of six barrels, a hand-crank causing them to revolve about a central axis parallel to their bores; as each barrel comes opposite a certain point, a self-primed metal-cased cartridge, falling from a hopper, is pushed into the breach by a plunger, where it is exploded by a firing-pin. The machinery is simple, and not apt to get out of order, and the gun can fire two hundred shots a minute with great range and precision."

There are some very striking similarities and dissimilarities between the "machine gun" invented by

Mr. Gatling and this weapon of moral warfare. Both have in hand the work of execution. His has six barrels; this has six. It is said his is worked by a crank; so is this. His is said to revolve around a "central axis" that is "parallel to their bores;" so does this. The "central axis" is sometimes called *one idea*, which runs parallel to all truth. Mr. Gatling's gun is for the destruction of human life; this is for the destruction of the liquor-traffic and the saving of life.

"The Gatling Gun" which is now offered to the public contains six lectures—call them barrels if you will. As each barrel comes opposite a certain point called a holy *purpose*, a self-primed metal-cased cartridge called *truth*, falling from a hopper called *brains*, is pushed into the breach called *logic*, by a plunger called *conviction*, where it is exploded by a firing-pin called the *Holy Spirit*. Where "firing" is attempted without the agency of the Holy Spirit, the result is what is usually called a "flash in the pan." Other similarities might be traced, such as the simplicity of the "machinery" (the organization of principle for practical ends), and not apt to get out of order, except where it becomes mixed with ammunition foreign to its character and aim. The "gun" is then rendered useless, being "spiked."

As to all that is said of the "range," "great precision" and "rapid firing" of the original Gatling gun, our enemies themselves being judges, they say that in this one the long-sought-for invention of a "perpetual motion" has at last been found—that parties may

go and parties may come, but "cranks" go on forever.

Seriously, whatever may be the displeasure incurred, the sacrifices endured, the imprudence charged, just such lectures as these are the need of the hour. A book may be able to say to the public what the pastor dare not proclaim from the pulpit.

In our boyhood days our ideal of a statesman was inspired by the spirit of Washington. We early committed to memory his words: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, *religion and morality are indispensable supports*. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of happiness, these firmest props of duties of men and citizens. The merest politician, equally with the pious man, ought to protect and cherish them. A volume could not trace their connection with private and public felicity."

Nor do we wish to rid ourselves of, but rather pray for, a double portion of the spirit of Jeffersonianism breathed in the inaugural of that great statesman: "I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our forefathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a land flowing with all the necessities and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence and our riper years with his wisdom and power; and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplication, that he will enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their counsels, and prosper their

measures, that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations."

Are we who have thus early in life received the inculcation of such lofty principles of patriotism to be blamed for protesting against degeneracy or deterioration into the very conditions against which such patriot fathers warned us?

To what disadvantage does Senator Sherman appear, comparing his modern standard of political morality with that of our earlier statesmen—particularly Washington and Jefferson! Hear him:

"All parties, to be useful, must be founded upon political ideas which affect the frame-work of our Government, or the rights and immunities of law. Questions based upon temperance, religion, morality, in all their multiplied forms, ought not to be the basis of parties. All parties in this country should be political parties. They ought not to be based upon religious or specifically moral grounds; hence temperance parties and organizations of that kind are not in accordance with the spirit of our institutions."

Or shall we so lose both our head and heart as to step out upon the platform of Senator Ingalls, of Kansas? What think ye of the statesman who says:

"The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose.

In war it is lawful to deceive the adversary, to hire Hessians, to purchase mercenaries, to mutilate, to kill, to destroy. The commander who lost a battle through the activity of his moral nature would be the derision and jest of history. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea-custard and syllabub dilettanteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of epicenes."

How much more in harmony with our sense of the fitness of things is the language of Sumner: "Politics is the application of moral principle to civil government!"

The author has but one desire in the publication of these lectures; that is, to do good, to arrest thought and awaken deep conviction, and then action. Let every reader tell his neighbor about "The Gatling Gun," and if it is desired to "shoot him on the spot" with solid argument, prevail upon him to buy the book.

L. V.

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THE GATLING GUN.

LECTURE I.

GOOD REASONS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

MR. CHAIRMAN—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am much obliged to the Chair for his complimentary words; but, being so much better acquainted with myself than he is, I must charge him with over-estimation. I humbly trust that in so important a matter as we have in hand, I may be able to give somewhat of instruction. Certainly is it true that, whether this is the prophetic day or not, many are running to and fro, and knowledge is increased and increasing so rapidly concerning morals in reform, that he is more than an expert who can keep pace with it. To-day, on this occasion, I must be understood to concede to every one honestly differing with me as good a right to their opinion as I have to mine. My motto is this: “Come, let us *reason* together.” If I can not appeal to reason and conscience for the proof of my case, I shall certainly despair of success by any other appeal.

I at this point express my satisfaction at the sub-
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stantial growth of prohibition sentiment, that must necessarily crystallize into political action, and finally into law. Instead of prohibition, in 1884, being put back twenty-five years, it has occupied the conspicuous place it now holds in the public mind—never so vast a following, never so ably edited and widely-spread literature. More States, in one form or another, are entertaining it in legislative halls; and while some speak of it from love for the principle, and others for the hate of it, nevertheless the subject is kept prominently before the people, and it will not down.

Prohibition may be a small thing in the estimation of many; its principles held in contempt; its advocates maligned as "cranks," "conscientious lunatics," and such like; still, when back of the principle, and back of the Constitutionality of prohibition, we have the uniform support of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court for a half century, Prohibitionists can take comfort that they are in good and substantial company, particularly as to intelligence, moral character, and legal learning.

MORAL REFORMS IN THE POLITICAL REALM.

Moral reforms in the political realm are much like revivals in the religious realm, both as to incipiency and progress. Your pastor preaches every day and night for a month, before all the membership, say nothing of outsiders, know that he is engaged in an effort for revival. After awhile a sinner drops in and manifests some seriousness, and after awhile that sin-

ner is converted; and, in the meantime, others drop in and "stand up for prayers." After several weeks the community is moved, and many are converted. So in moral reforms in politics. Some generally considered indiscreet man gets pent up with the conviction that something is wrong, and he goes to preaching it. After awhile he gets some one under conviction like himself. Soon you will see Democrats and Republicans getting converted at the Prohibition "mourners' bench." And after awhile the fire spreads, and a general awakening occurs; and it is a *conversion*, with its attendant joy of a new life and conscious freedom from political bondage. This victory brought to my own heart a restfulness kindred to that felt when God first, by his Spirit, spoke the word of pardon to my heart. I believe that I speak the experience of every Prohibitionist who is such from conviction of the moral righteousness of the cause he has espoused.

THE LIQUOR-TRAFFIC ORGANIZED TREASON AGAINST POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

The liquor-traffic is organized treason against the foundation principle of popular government in this country. As early as 1881, and indeed back of that, we have an example of the insolence and intent of the traffic. Here is a specimen:

"UNITED LIQUOR-DEALERS' CENTRAL COMMITTEE, }
"Cincinnati, September 21, 1881. }

"*Dear Sir*,—A submission of your views on the subject of liquor legislation is respectfully requested. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to inform you that the enact-

ments already upon the statute-books against the sale of spirituous liquors are sufficient to secure absolute prohibition in all localities *where such laws are sustained by public sentiment.*

“The united liquor interests of this country—brewers, distillers, wholesale dealers, and saloon-keepers—have determined to support no candidate of any party for legislative office unless pledged to oppose any direct legislative enactments bearing on the sale of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquors, *or the submitting to the people of any Constitutional amendment making possible ‘local option’ or other more stringent legislation upon this subject.*

“We shall be pleased to have your ideas upon this question. Failure to reply prior to October 4th will compel us to regard your position as inimical to our interests, and action will be taken accordingly.

“C. W. BOSS, for Brewers.

“L. J. WORKUM, for Distillers and Dealers.

“F. K. STEVES, for Saloon-keepers.

“Address reply to L. J. WORKUM, Chairman Central Committee, 28 and 30 Main Street, Cincinnati.”

The “two houses” of this business in Illinois—beer and whisky—in line with the action of the national “trade” in 1882, said:

ILLINOIS BEER-DEALERS’ CONVENTION, 1882.

“*Resolved*, That we use our *entire* influence against all such candidates whose character and record does not give satisfactory guarantee as to their position in the involved temperance questions; and

“*Resolved*, That we, free citizens and voters of this State, pledge ourselves to support the candidates of that party only whose position and principles are in harmony with our constitution.”

And here is a third illustration, by the *Illinois Distillers' Convention*, 1882:

"Resolved, That we will use our best endeavors to defeat, at the next election, any candidate for any office who can not be fully relied on as being uncompromisingly opposed to all attempts at prohibitory legislation."

Says the New York *Wine and Spirit Gazette*:

"State prohibition is less to be feared than national prohibition, which, by the way, affords the only possibility of making prohibition really effective. We shall fight any and every attempt, no matter in what disguise it may appear, of making a national issue out of the prohibition abomination."

I present these quotations to the audience to show that early in the opposition of the liquor-traffic, and up to date, the intent has been against "the people" and "public sentiment" and fundamental rights. I have before me the action of the traffic from 1870 up to date, but time and patience will not allow the use of the same in this lecture. I pray you read and inwardly digest the history called "Don't Take Temperance into Politics," which contains the official correspondence between the liquor-traffic and National Government.

ALPHABETIC LIST OF CONSPIRACY.

Why it is so I can not tell, but it occurs to me that, young as our Nation is, our history must write those who have conspired against human rights in alphabetic order, A, B, C, D—Arnold, Burr, Cal-

houn, Davis. Not stopping to define the peculiarity of the antagonism of each to Constitutional authority, I boldly say that the treason intent on the part of the liquor-traffic, and that against every interest, human and divine, can not be matched by a combination of ten thousand times that represented thus far in the quartette named. Those named were limited in the application of the principle they represented. Not so the liquor-traffic. It knows no rank, social strata, sectional line, State, or Territory that it will not invade. It claims the earth and all the time of mortal measurement—therefore knows no night, no day, no Sabbath. If the missionary is conveyed to the shores of heathendom, liquor must rival the gospel there, and damn in the presence of the Word of life. In other words, the liquor-traffic wants the earth, and it is a comparatively small spot of it that it does not now possess, and clamors for that portion remaining unoccupied.

UNDER FALSE GUISE.

Falsely guised behind high license, it intends the indestructibility of "the trade." I heard a man say that his notion of prohibition was high license and local option. But if Illinois is a fair illustration, your right of local option is not granted. Before high license came, a public assembly of the people could decide to run an anti-license ticket, and thus bring on the issue, license or no license. But not so now. If a city submits this question, it must be through the consent of the City Council, which must have the con-

sent of the liquor-traffic, which must have the consent of his majesty, the devil. Therefore, evasively the people must select their men that can be depended upon for faithful action, but always independent of the issue.

Thus the Nebraska campaign: Constitutional prohibition going to the wall, license is mandatory, for the second amendment says: "The manufacture, sale, and keeping for sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage *shall be licensed and regulated by law.*" The success of this second proposed amendment would make local option unconstitutional. Thus the popular will would sit handicapped. Thus, under "restrictive" and "regulative" measures, the liquor-traffic is tightening its grip, and more and more ascendency over the constitutional rights of the people is attained.

The traffic does not propose to call a halt until the Constitution of every State, and of the United States, shall be so altered as to remove from the Nation the right of the popular will to say, at the ballot-box, whether or not the liquor-traffic shall exist. This road to Constitutional amendment in the interest of the liquor-traffic being a rough and rugged road to travel, taking long weary years of political marching, the United States Supreme Court—whether intentionally or unintentionally—comes to the rescue, and accomplishes for the traffic, at a single bound, the desired object of their every effort, in the Original Package decision. Let the same court decide the subsequent action of Congress unconstitutional, and the victory of the rum-power over the rights of the

people of the States is complete. It need not concern itself about further amendments in the interest of the traffic; for the Constitution of our fathers that we now have answers its every purpose, if the recent decision is to be maintained.

WHY CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION?

But why Constitutional prohibition over that of local option, or even statutory prohibition? Because it offers the most permanent settlement of the question. It is preferable to local option for this reason: First, local option is too optional and too local; next, local option is an uncertain method. You may and you may not, even temporarily, settle the question. Complete as a local-option victory may be in overturning the saloon, the moment you pillow your head for sleep at the close of the day of heated contest, your eyes fly wide awake, and you begin to query in your mind whether this victory so hardly won will continue longer than one year. Twelve months pass, and again the saloon appears. Local-option victories in Georgia popularized local-option throughout the country; but when, the next year, Atlanta went "wet," enthusiasm dropped down to zero. I have heard it said that local option is a good educational measure, gradually bringing the people up to prohibition. But it seems to be overlooked that the experience and drill of such a campaign is also educating the enemy up to know how the more easily to defeat prohibition. It is debatable as to which side is the greater gainer by such a schooling. Statutory prohibition is local option

on a larger scale, and by legislative action. It may live one year longer than city local option, if the body that passes it meets but once in two years. Place it in the statutes of a State, and the traffic begins at once its litigation testing its constitutionality, until the two years have passed, and the next Legislature wipes it as with a sponge from the statute-book. You inquire seriously, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" There is one recourse; namely, Constitutional prohibition, with a political party behind it to enforce it, committed to the principle. Without this, as in Rhode Island, it may be brought into contempt, and repealed. In Rhode Island, the officer appointed for its enforcement was openly and avowedly an enemy of the law, and a paid agent for the defeat of amendments in Pennsylvania and other States.

BODY POLITIC NOT UNLIKE OUR BODY.

The body politic is not unlike our body in some respects. Go on the street to-morrow, and you will meet a man with a large, offensive, bloody tumor hanging from the side of his face. What is the matter? Matter enough! What shall be the treatment? We have two doctors of diverse opinions concerning the tumor and its treatment. One believes in using the knife, and away goes the tumor. That side of the face is now as smooth as the other, and scarcely a scar is left. In a few months you meet the man, and there hangs out the same old, offensive tumor! What is the matter? Matter enough. The tumor came of

poison in the system of the man—constitutionally out of sorts. When that knife, by a skilled hand, removed the tumor, it did not probe into the constitution of things that made the tumor a possibility and a probability. Physician No. 2 comes in for his treatment. He is a constitutional doctor. He does not put his patient under the influence of chloroform and cut away at his body; but he administers internal remedies that put the constitution in a purified state; and the cause—the poison in the system—being removed, the effect—the tumor—disappears. Now, between the doctor who uses the knife, with the possibility and probability of the tumor returning, and the one who gives constitutional treatment, resulting in the impossibility, and therefore improbability, of its return, which do you prefer? You say, "Give me the constitutional doctor?" Your answer is correct.

Go out on the street, and you will see hanging from the face of the body politic an offensive bloody tumor called a liquor-saloon. What is the matter? Matter enough. "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Our attention is called to the presence of two political doctors in the community. The first is a local-option doctor, or rather is a member of and a graduate from that school. He has in his political case an instrument he calls a local-option knife. He says: "Let me at that tumor on the face of the body politic, and I will shave it off close to the face." Accordingly the work is done. "A skillful operation," you say. "To all appearances, yes," we reply. That side or corner of the face of the body politic looks as

clean as the other across the street, where the dry-goods store or jewelry shop is located. In a few months you step out on the street, and the offensive, bloody tumor, the saloon, has reappeared. What is the matter? Matter enough. The political doctor dealt with that which was only an incident of a condition back of it. It is the diseased condition of the body politic that makes the saloon a possibility that needs to be treated. In other words, the evil needs to be taken out of the political system.

The second doctor is called to treat the case. He believes in Constitutional treatment. He corrects the system by removing the conditions that give rise to this political, as well as moral, pest and tumor. The Constitution becoming such as to contain nothing of the conditions making the saloon a possibility, and therefore not a probability, the tumor is no more—“the saloon must go” is in consequence of having no place to stay. Applying the same practical common sense to this evil that you do to the other, which political doctor do you prefer? Between the one with the local-option knife, that removes the saloon with the possibility and probability of its return, and the doctor who removes it from the system with the impossibility, and therefore the improbability, of its return, the rational conclusion is, give us the Constitutional doctor who believes in Constitutional treatment.

The “hooks and crooks” of politics, as now operated, make any treatment of this evil uncertain outside of the Constitutional prohibition of the traffic. Politicians can not repeal a Constitution, but they

can tamper with everything below it in the shape of statutory law and local option.

THE LIQUOR-TRAFFIC OPPOSITION TO CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

The liquor-traffic fears Constitutional prohibition as it does a ghost—yea, more than it fears a ghost. Liquor-dealers are so familiar with ghosts that they do not fear them. Haunted by the ghosts of seventy thousand annually dead because of the traffic, they have ceased to fear. But why will the traffic give more to defeat Constitutional than it will to defeat local option or statutory prohibition? For this reason: It knows that if the Constitution prohibits the drink-traffic, all legislation afterward sought must conform to the Constitution. The Constitution does not only become prohibitory, but it is a safeguard for the people against future legislation in the interest of the traffic. The liquor-traffic is simply ruled out of existence, and out of the right to exist. And this is right, and in accord with any correct definition of true political economy.

These Constitutional enactments are more to the point because they touch the essential feature where we develop the principle that this is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people; that is to say, the people, and not the Legislature, make and amend their organic law, on which, and in agreement with which, all subsequent legislation must be enacted.

REASONS FOR VOTING ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Since the recent defeats of amendments, it may be questioned whether it is the wise thing to do to further submit the same to a vote of the people. I reply that if it is prohibition simple and pure, it is always safe to so submit. I believe there is a public sentiment strong enough in Cook County, Illinois, which, if the issue should be purely for or against the dram-shop, would shut up every saloon in that county, cursed as Chicago is with the infamous traffic. But since it was seen that a square issue upon the traffic redounded to the success of prohibition, the traffic issues its political edict that the Maine, Iowa, and Kansas "foolishness" shall cease; so that the people shall no more be permitted to vote strictly on the straight issue, Whisky or no whisky, but on Prohibition or High License—which? The position I contend for is the old and square issue that gives the people the privilege to express themselves squarely for or against. I believe in submission for the following reasons:

1. Because it is right to prohibit wrong. The liquor-traffic is wrong, and therefore should be prohibited.
2. I believe in such submission, secondly, because "what is morally wrong can not be politically right." No amount of legislation can make a vice a virtue.

3. Because the traffic, which affects the whole people, ought to be disposed of by the people it affects.

I heard a distinguished judge in Ohio say that it was quite a fair expression of public sentiment when the villages and towns could vote on this local-optionally. Is public sentiment incorporated in towns? Are farmers a part of the "public?" To suppose that the average incorporated town—with its hangers-on, dead-beats, and tramps, that vote on the liquor question—is an honest expression of "public sentiment," is the merest bosh, and a begging of the question. When a Town Council gives license to a dram-seller, they do not limit his trade to the corporation, though it be a contract between that man and the corporation. That license permits that man to drive his business beyond corporate limits, and ruin a home out in the country. By every rule of right, if that dram-seller is authorized to damn a home beyond corporate limits, that home should have a right to shut up that saloon by a ballot cast at the same place that the dram-seller casts his. But you say: "What right have these farmers to interfere with the affairs of the town?" What right has your town to manage its affairs so as to jeopardize every interest, material and moral, in the whole country about? Be it known that the American farmer, at the high behest of the liquor-traffic (and no old party politician can dare say it shall be otherwise), is a disfranchised man.

The dram-seller can vote on this question, but the farmer can not. *For one class of citizens to deal with this question, which affects the whole citizenship of the*

country, at the ballot-box, to the exclusion of another class, is, in both theory and practice, disfranchisement and unpardonable class legislation. The American saloon-keeper is a citizen with more rights than the American farmer. He can vote a business that will put in jeopardy the whole country round about, and the rural district is without defense. Shall it be otherwise? While your old party candidate will button-hole the farmer and whisper it in his ear that he is in favor of a change in this condition of things, suppose you get the same politician or candidate to even whisper it—say nothing of proclaiming it aloud—in his party primary, county, district, or State convention. Nay, verily. A reliable account of an attempt by the farmers of Nebraska for protection against ballot frauds in the present campaign for prohibition, comes to us, for it is instinctively felt that if the amendment is carried, it *must* be “counted out.” The account says:

“That liquor-tool, Governor Thayer, of Nebraska, recently issued his proclamation convening the Legislature in extra session, to pass an Australian ballot-law. But the whisky men, believing that such a law meant their defeat, they got Thayer to recall his proclamation.”

This is the intelligent (?) and “honored son of the Church,” who is accredited as saying for his State: “If King Solomon had known of the rich soil and productiveness of Nebraska, he would have never sent his sons into Egypt after corn!”

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

4. At this point, my friends, it is a favorable moment to say that my fourth reason for all the people expressing their sentiments directly upon the prohibition of the liquor-traffic by Constitutional amendment, is this: I do'nt believe in taxation without representation. I will not rehearse the story of the Boston tea-party of more than a hundred years ago. It is enough to say that it was a burdensome and unjust principle they cast into the sea more than tea, *per se*. Do you see? That the Crown had a right to tax the Colonists without their representation in Parliament was contrary to the genius of the new Nation springing into life. The principle was foreign-born, and should not land and become a part of the new Nation. But we have not only adopted this oppressive principle, but are applying it until the people are crying out. The liquor-traffic creates the bills, and the tax-payers pay them. It is folly to think that high license pays these bills or any part of them. License-money goes in the city treasury; but if a murder occurs in a saloon, the crime must be paid for in the matter of arrest and punishment out of the people's treasury, and not out of the city treasury. A saloon-keeper in Carlinville, Illinois, who pays into the city treasury \$500, pays 25 cents into the county treasury. Two men, customers from the country, pay each about the same into the county treasury. They get drunk, and one shoots the other dead. There is a case for the State. How

much do these three men pay into the treasury that pays the expense of this crime? Seventy-five cents. How much did this crime take out of that treasury? *Three thousand five hundred dollars!* Twenty-five cents in; \$3,500 out. Who pays that \$3,500? The real-estate tax-payer; the most substantial is the farmer, and he can foot the bill without a vote upon the evil that caused it. This is not an exceptional case. In every county where there is a saloon this incident repeats itself. You will not allow the time for me to enumerate the all but numberless incidents illustrating this burdensome condition of things. And yet we pray for relief, and politician and party smile blandly, washing their hands in invisible water, and express "*sympathy* with wise and well-directed efforts" at relief, but studiously refrain from the "wisdom" and the "efforts" that would bring relief. Eighty-seven per cent of the crime of this country comes in consequence of the liquor-traffic. This necessitates millions in prisons and in enforcement of law. This eighty-seven per cent must be provided for by farmers more than by others. What do you think of this ringing appeal of the F. M. B. A. of Kansas, through its president, to their representatives in Congress? Hear it, and ponder well:

"We call attention to the fact that a single law firm in one city in Southern Kansas now has the contract for the foreclosure of 1,800 mortgages. This means 1,800 homesteads transferred from the hands of so many industrious families to the hands of capitalists, either domestic or foreign. The foreclosure of these

mortgages is in accordance with a preconceived purpose to gain possession of these farms, and people them with a more servile tenantry imported from foreign lands for this especial purpose. Foreclosure and evictions are taking place in very many parts of the State, and we need not go all the way to Europe to witness scenes of cruelty in matters of this kind.

"All over the State the homes of our people are imperiled. They are struggling against adverse circumstances, and almost against hope, to sustain themselves until relief shall come."

May not the farmers of the whole Nation as truly protest against a disfranchisement that binds them hand and foot for any defense against the liquor-traffic, that puts still greater burdens upon them? It is the spirit of greed that commits the crime.

5. I may say, a fifth and good reason for permitting the rural districts to vote alike with towns is, that the rural ballot will aid in protecting the morality-loving portion of our towns against the dangerous classes that make up the liquor majorities.

Take the lazy, loafing, smoking, swaggering, swearing, good-for-nothing class that hangs around the average saloon town, and stand them up against a wall, and count them, and there is your liquor majority every time. It is an outrage to turn the morality and decency of any community over to such. The rural districts are quite free from this class, and therefore should come in and save the towns from the dominance of the rum element.

CITY DOMINANCE OVER THE STATE.

We often hear it said: "Suppose you should get prohibition, could you enforce it in Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, St. Louis, and other large cities?" The logic of this is, that as such a law could not apply to large cities, therefore bring the whole State into subserviency to conditions that apply in cities.

My friends, this question of city government is a momentous question. It has now reduced itself to the problem, Which shall rule, the State or the city? The fact as it exists now is, the city rules the State and the slums rule the city. We are in the slough of slum-rule. Shall we survive or perish? It is a fact of history that the ruin that has come to kingdoms now buried out of sight came out of cities. Cities have been centers of all influence, both good and evil; but the evil has prevailed over the good, and ruin came in consequence. Shall the city continue its "rule and ruin" relation to the State, or shall we establish ourselves upon the true basis of the supremacy of the State over the city, and compel—by the highest power of civil government—obedience to rightfully constituted authority? If in the city there is a class that defies the authority of the State to which the average citizen holds himself amenable and loyal, I do not know to what better purpose we could put our militia than to compel obedience.

WHY IS IT?

Why is it, my friends, that we have no opportunity to express our convictions at the ballot-box on this question? Senator C., of Illinois, asked a German member of the Indiana Legislature why he did not allow the people the privilege of voting on Constitutional amendment when petitioned to submit it? He replied: "Der beebuls of Indiana elecs us to make der laws, and should tinks ve 'ave sense enough to do so mitout der pizenees." "But," said Senator C., "you must understand that you are not in Germany now, but America; and that the people have the right of petition reserved to them, and you are bound to respect the same. You must give a better reason for refusing their prayer, or they will call you to account for it." The German politician replied: "Val, val! de fact of de peeshness ish shust dis: shust as shure as ve gifs der peeble of Inderaner a shanse to vote Constitoooshunl prohibitishun, der fools vil elect it." Just so. And such is the estimate lager-beer politics place upon the people and their rights. This man, who revels in the midst of beer, inhaling its atmosphere, well knows that out yonder among the people is a moral conviction and courage sufficiently strong that, if it had an untrammeled opportunity, it would place prohibition in the organic law of the State. And it is also even measurably a success where its enforcement is with its enemies. What would it be, then, if the party that indorses the principle was in

power to enforce the law? If Rhode Island is referred to, to illustrate the so-called failure of prohibition, we may boldly ask, Why was it a failure there, and yet a marvelous success in Maine, Iowa, Kansas, and elsewhere? There must be a reason for said failure. But let us read what a responsible correspondent of the *Voice* says on "no fair trial in Rhode Island:"

"The truth about Rhode Island is this: Prohibition was overthrown there, not because of any disadvantages resulting from prohibition, but because of the wicked, corrupt, defiant, and untiring work of a band of whisky and political conspirators who labored constantly to restore the license policy, for no other reason than that any form of license is preferred by the rum-sellers and their political allies to any form of prohibition. These conspirators prevented a fair trial of prohibition in Rhode Island; prevented the enactment of acceptable enforcement statutes; *put at the head of the enforcement machinery a man—General C. R. Brayton—who had uniformly been associated with the liquor element, and who subsequently became the leader of the saloon forces in the repeal campaign; in short, delivered the prohibitory law, during most of the period of its existence, into the hands of its foes, and strove by all means to make it odious, and thus cultivate a disposition to abolish it.*"

COMPARATIVE RESULTS—WHAT THE LEADING HIGH-LICENSE PAPER SAYS.

"For all these reasons, no State can possibly be named in which it is more unfair to seek for the typical and characteristic effects of prohibition than Rhode Island. *Yet it is a demonstrated fact that even under*

unenforced prohibition the State was better off than under the high-license law which has been substituted for prohibition.

"First, take the testimony of the leading daily newspaper of Rhode Island, the *Providence Journal*, a most intolerant foe of prohibition and persistent advocate of high license. It said in its issue of January 30, 1890:

"It must be plain, however, not only by the statistics of licenses lately published in these columns, but by common observation as well, that the happy result predicted has not been brought about under Rhode Island's new license law. The saloons seem to have increased. Complete and absolutely accurate statistics are not indeed obtainable. But there are probably not less than 1,200 licensed saloons in the State to-day, while at the close of the low-license period in June, 1886, it was estimated that the number was a little over 900, certainly not more than 950.

"In Providence, in June, 1886, the last month of the operation of the low-license law, there were on record in this city 444 licensed saloons. To-day there are 532, and the tendency is still upward. . . . It does not appear, then, that in this respect we are much better off to-day. In point of numbers, indeed, we are not so well off as we were under low license, even allowing for a substantial growth in population during the four years."

I have hinted at the reasonableness of Constitutional prohibition; may I add that the logic of reasonableness carries us forward in its travels to the necessity of a party committed to the principle? Otherwise there is of necessity a non-committal attitude maintained by those in authority; for if a party is not committed to the principle, the effect is that in a

peculiar sense it is excusable from enforcement. John B. Finch once said in a speech delivered down East: "If you get non-partisan prohibition, the old party officials will not enforce it." A gentleman bounded promptly to his feet and interrupted the speaker, saying: "Mr. Finch, that statement I deny. I was elected to office on my old-party ticket, and I say to you that I enforced the law to the full measure of both spirit and letter." That was a square rejoinder. As if he had settled the question, he was about to sit down, when Mr. Finch requested him to stand a moment until he asked him a question. "You say you enforced the law to the spirit and letter of it?" "Yes, sir," replied the man. "Permit me to inquire, my friend," said Mr. Finch, "if, when your party held its nominating convention, you were a candidate for nomination?" "I was," replied the gentleman. "Then, my friend," replied Mr. Finch, "please state to this audience whether your party used your name in connection with a nomination as candidate for any office?" The gentleman sat down with a shortness of breath as if a fist had struck him in the fifth rib.

It is related that, in 1885, when Mr. Finch and others were in Ohio aiding Dr. Leonard for governor on the Prohibition ticket, one day Judge J. B. Foraker, candidate for the same office on the Republican ticket, came aboard the train on which Mr. Finch was traveling, and sitting down in the seat by the side of him, said: "Mr. Finch, what are you doing down here in Ohio—what are you trying to beat me for governor for? Don't

you think I would make a good governor?" Mr. Finch replied: "No, sir; I don't." "Why not?" said the Judge. "You have n't backbone enough," replied Finch. The Judge retorted: "I have as much backbone as you have." "No you have n't," said Finch. "Well, I'd like to know why," replied the Judge. Mr. Finch said: "I will tell you why. Judge, you believe in the Bible?" "I do, from end to end," said the Judge. "And you believe in the Christian Sabbath?" "Most assuredly," replied the Judge. "And you are a member of the Methodist Church?" "I am," replied the Judge, "and am proud of it." "Now, Judge," said Mr. Finch, "take your pen and paper and write me a letter—a short one—in which you certify that you believe in the Christian Sabbath, and that if elected governor you will see that the same is protected by law, and sign your name to it, and I will take the next train and go home—not making another speech against you." What was the Judge's reply? He crossed his arms, put his knees against the back of the seat in front of him, and settling a little lower in the one in which he was sitting, and looking across to Mr. Finch, replied: "Finch, it would kill me"—meaning thereby that it would defeat him for the office for which he was running. And so it would. Did it not subsequently defeat him?

Gentlemen voters, Christian voters, do you know that this country has reached a depth of political subserviency to the rum-power and all the numberless and nameless vices that that rum-power means; that

in scarcely a State of the Union can any party put at the head of its ticket an outspoken Christian man, who, with clean hands and pure heart, will enforce the law protecting the Christian institutions of the country, and hope to elect him. *And yet there are good men in this country of sufficient number to elect such men with splendid majorities.* Where are they voting? Ah! it is the Shorham-Simcoy politics of the country that has corrupted the foundations of political affairs, and is rapidly destroying public confidence.

Years ago, in a prosperous town in Central Illinois, in an obscure part of the town, a humble home was closed and in silence for days, indeed until suspicion on part of neighbors awoke investigation. A lady living next door knocked three times gently, and no response. She lifted the latch and opened the door. This spectacle met her eyes: On the bed was a sick wife and mother; on one arm was a three-year-old child crying for bread, and on the other a dead newly-born babe. Said the neighbor: "Why did you not inform us of this?" Without a word, and trembling with fear, she pointed to a brute on the floor in the shape of a husband, "dead drunk." His violence would have sacrificed another life had he been awakened. The dead babe was given a decent burial, the hungry fed, and the sick cared for. An editorial comment was to the effect, that while Churches were sending missionaries and missionary money abroad to convert the heathen, they had better keep them at home to convert the "heathen at home." I abominate such a sentiment. We send one missionary abroad with a salary

for one year that Colonel Ingersoll would refuse for one evening's lecture, and he converts ten thousand heathens. His work is faithfully and well done. We keep ten thousand missionaries at home—Christian voters in the Churches of the city—to convert one man sunk to the depth of heathenism through the drink-traffic and habit, and they miserably fail, or rather they do n't try. That missionary abroad must be a very efficient and successful missionary, or the heathen not very bad heathen, that he shows such a record of success. That drunken wretch, and the system that makes his condition both possible and probable, must be an almost infinitely bad heathen, or the ten thousand voters miserably poor missionaries, that, being voters, fail to make practical at the ballot-box their professed piety.

Nobody but a moral and religious shirk and shark can hold to the sentiment that the men and means sent abroad to redeem the world should be recalled to accomplish a work at home that this "home coward" fails, and yet was designed, in part at least, to accomplish by his ballot. We need a purification of the whole body politic, that the last breastwork of the license system may be torn down, that the people may get at this enemy of all good, and properly dispose of it. But as it is, the dram-seller is fortified, and thus far protected. While this is so, this incident and poem fully illustrate the case:

"I am licensed to sell! Get out of my shop!"
The rum-seller angrily cried,
With a frown on his face and a curse on his lips,
To a woman who stood by his side.

" My moments are precious, I've no time to waste;
 I have paid my license, I say.
 'Tis my business to sell, I shall sell when I choose,
 To those who will give me my pay."

" Your moments are precious! ah, precious for what?
 To ruin some innocent one?
 You shall listen a moment; 'tis little I ask
 For the wrongs that to me you have done.
 You have ruined my husband both body and soul,
 That you his scant money might gain.
 'You were licensed to sell,' you answered me then,
 And all my pleadings were vain.

You lured him on with your honeyed words,
 Till your victory you made complete,
 Till his money was gone, then one cold night
 You turned him into the street.
 The night was dark, he was crazed with rum,
 All reason from him had fled;
 In the morning's light they brought him home,
 He was found on the railroad, dead.

You were licensed to sell, and gave not a sigh
 For the miserable work you had done;
 And now, not content, you are striving your best
 To likewise ruin my son.
 You are leading him on in the downward path,
 His meager earnings you crave;
 For that you are willing to send him down
 To an early drunkard's grave.

To look at the miserable sets of our town,
 Then back to ten years ago,
 And know it is you and your cursed work
 That has brought them down so low!
 You are licensed to sell—ah yes! it is true
 That your license in money is paid;
 But think not that's all that will ever be asked
 For the miserable wrecks you have made.

When you stand at the judgment seat of God,
 For the deeds done here on earth—

As you stand in the presence of those poor souls
You have helped drag down to hell,
Of little avail will it be to you then,
To say, 'I am licensed to sell.'” *

My dear friends, thanks again and again for the patience and interest with which you listen to my argument. While on my own part I would like to continue this tax upon your time and patience, I must close my remarks. I have not, as I greatly desired to do, quoted from the rulings of the Supreme Bench to confirm my argument for the legitimacy and Constitutionality of prohibition, yet I can not sit down without urging upon you the importance of investigation which the Supreme Bench of the United States affords.

Here are a few extracts from the rulings of this highest tribunal of law that, in the limit of your time to hear more extended quotations, will do as seed-thoughts. They allude more particularly to the Kansas cases, but may generally apply:

“All places where intoxicating liquors are manufactured, sold, bartered, or given away, or are kept for sale, barter, or use, in violation of the act, are held to be common nuisances.”

* This poem was read by a little girl at the graduating exercises of a public school in Brooklyn, N. Y. The Liquor-dealers' Association became enraged at the “villification” of the saloon-keepers, and propose to ask the School Board hereafter to prohibit the inculcation of religious and temperance principles in the public schools of Brooklyn.

“A nuisance may be abated. Everything prejudicial to the health or morals of a city may be removed.”

“*We can not shut out of view the fact, within the knowledge of all, that the public health, the public morals, and the public safety may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks; NOR THE FACT, ESTABLISHED BY STATISTICS ACCESSIBLE TO EVERY ONE, THAT THE IDLENESS, DISORDER, PAUPERISM, AND CRIME EXISTING IN THE COUNTRY, ARE, IN SOME DEGREE AT LEAST, TRACEABLE TO THIS EVIL.*”

“No Legislature can bargain away the public morals. The people themselves can not do it, much less their servants. . . . Government is organized with a view to their preservation, and can not divest itself of the power to provide for them.”

“If the public safety or the public morals require the discontinuance of any manufacture or traffic, the hand of the Legislature can not be stayed from providing for its discontinuance by any incidental inconvenience which individuals or corporations may suffer. . . .

“Places where intoxicating liquors are kept for sale, barter, or delivery, in violation of this act, are hereby declared to be common nuisances.”

“Not the liquor made, or the making of it, which is thus enacted to be a common nuisance, but the place itself, including all the property used in keeping and maintaining the common nuisance.”

“The court is commanded to take possession by its officers of the place, and shut it up.”

“This is a salutary jurisdiction, especially where a nuisance affects the health, morals, or safety of the community.”

“The power undoubtedly exists in courts of equity to protect the public against injury.”

Before me are the decisions of Chief Justice Taney, and Associate Justices McLean, Woodbury, Catron, Grier, with others, with which intelligent Prohibitionists are familiar. I can not read them here, for time will not allow. It would be a matter of great satisfaction to me if I could know that each of my congregation possessed the pamphlet published by Rev. Dr. Kynett, of Philadelphia, on the significance of the appointment of Judge Brewer to the bench of the United States Supreme Court. When five cents will supply such a fund of knowledge, it is certainly available to all, and should be read by all. But do not go away with the impression that, in this demand for legal prohibition, we have abandoned the appeal on moral grounds. My political creed is well expressed by another:

“Mental suasion for the man who thinks;
Moral suasion for the man who drinks;
Legal suasion for the drunkard-maker;
Prison suasion for the statute-breaker.”

And why do I contend for all this? For the simple reason that there is no redemption from the traffic without it.

“At the punch bowl’s brink,
Let the thirsty think,
What they say in Japan:
First the man takes a drink,
Then the drink takes a drink,
Then the drink takes the man.”

I believe that loyalty to principle is the law of true patriotism that should govern our ballot. Charles Sumner was the true exponent of lofty patriotism

when he said: "Where principle is, there is my party." Said John B. Finch: "No party will ever do right, if you give it your vote when it does wrong;" and some one is a true exponent of political orthodoxy when he says: "*Your vote is the standard of your morals on this question.*" "*A white ball elects, a black ball rejects: be careful of your vote,*" that it reflects the conscience of the Christ you serve.

Much is said in these times about the Constitutionality of things. My friends, I hold that there is one document more sacred than the Constitution of the United States—the *Magna Charta* of our National existence, namely, the "Declaration of Independence." In it are to be found the eternal principles of right, and if the Constitution afterward framed contains provisions that violate this Declaration, then I hold that, by every law of right known to God and man, so much of that Constitution is unconstitutional, and should be conformed to our *Magna Charta*. Every sentence in that Declaration justifies our position in this contest against rum rule. May I not go further, and say that, substituting rum rule for that of King George, there is ground for protest involving precisely the same principles embodied in the Declaration by the Colonial Congress in 1776? Therefore, for my argument and final appeal, I need only paraphrase the old Declaration which gives us the new, namely:

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one party to dissolve the political bonds which have connected it with another, and to assume among parties in the Nation the separate and equal

station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are, pursuit of life (not death), liberty (not bondage), and happiness (not misery and poverty); that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among people (women and children are *people*), deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed (women included, as they are "governed"); that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, *it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.*

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that parties long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms of law to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them to absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such despotism, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient suffering of the people at the hands of the rum-power, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former party affiliation. The history of the liquor-traffic in the United States, and of the political parties under whose favor it has grown to gigantic proportions, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in

direct object the establishment of an absolute political tyranny over the Nation. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

The liquor-traffic has refused assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

It has forbidden Legislatures to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation until its assent should be obtained.

It has refused to allow other laws to be passed for the accommodation of large districts, including whole States, unless the people would relinquish their right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to the liquor-traffic only.

It has continued legislative bodies in extent of time unusual, for the sole purpose of fatiguing the people into compliance with its measures.

It has dissolved Legislatures repeatedly for opposing its invasions of the rights of the people.

It has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to permit others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers incapable of annihilation have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the homes of the State in the meantime remaining exposed to all the dangers of invasion by the liquor-traffic.

It has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing its assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

It has made judges dependent on its will for the tenure of their offices and the amount of payment of their salaries.

It has created a multitude of new offices through the party in power, and sent hither and thither swarms of saloon-keepers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

It has kept among us in time of peace an army

which has destroyed more of our people than pestilence, accident, earthquake, and war.

It has attempted to render the traffic independent of and superior to the civil power, putting its authority "beyond the control of a majority."

It has combined with political parties to subject our country to a social order foreign to Christian institutions, unacknowledged by our customs or religion, giving its assent to immorality growing out of it, in the name of "personal liberty."

It has quartered upon us large bodies of saloon-keepers, armed with the protection of law.

It has protected the same by mock trial from punishment for murders or other crimes committed upon the inhabitants of the country.

It has imposed taxes upon us without our consent.

It has deprived us in many cases of fair trial by jury, by "packing" the same.

It abolishes the free system of our laws in all the States, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing its absolute rule, by protecting imports of liquor over which it has supreme control, into those States that have passed prohibitory laws, thus making null and void the voice and franchise of the people.

It has taken away our charters, abolished our most valuable laws, and altered fundamentally the forms of government, State and National.

It has suspended our Legislatures, declaring itself invested with power to legislate for us in all cases affecting the liquor-traffic.

It has abdicated government by declaring us without its protection, and wages war against us.

It has filled our seas with wrecks, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

It is at this time transporting large armies of foreign emissaries to complete the work of death, desolation, and tyranny, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely known in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy a civilized Nation.

It has constrained Christian people, taken captive by political ties, to bear arms against their own country, homes, wives, and children, by voting to perpetuate the traffic in power, and execrate their friends and brethren who oppose its tyranny, or fall by political decapitation at the hands of this tyrant.

It has excited domestic insurrection in the form of mobs in our cities and "strikes" in our industries, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savage, by selling or giving him intoxicating drinks, and whose known rule of warfare, like that of the savage, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have, in the most humble terms, petitioned political conventions of parties in position and power to give redress; but our repeated prayers have been answered by repeated injury and insult. A traffic whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a crime is unfit to have a place among the "industries" of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attention to our political brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by the traffic to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances by which we have been influenced to seek new affiliations within the province of party jurisdiction. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the political ties of our original kinship and moral convictions to disavow these usurpations of the liquor-traffic which would

inevitably interrupt our friendly relation and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and political consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them political enemies in our war for prohibition, in the peaceful possession of our prayer, friends.

We, therefore, the Prohibitionists of the United States of America in party organized, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of our organization in the States and Nation, solemnly publish and declare that these United States of right ought to be forever free and independent of the liquor-traffic, and that they should be absolved from all allegiance to parties by which this tyrant has been enthroned, and that all political connection between them and parties for the perpetuity of the tyranny of the liquor-traffic ought to be dissolved, and that Prohibitionists, as free and independent voters, have full power to levy political war upon the traffic, conclude peace when the tyrant is destroyed, contract political and other alliance to perpetuate sobriety and morality, re-establish commerce ruined by rum, and do all other acts which independent voters may of right do.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we Prohibitionists pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

LECTURE II.

IS HIGH LICENSE JUSTIFIABLE?

MR. CHAIRMAN—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I trust that your patience will be equal to the importance of the subject presented for your consideration, I might rather say, that the subject will not afflict your patience; but it is a matter about which some may express a doubt as to whether the supply of grace laid in at your morning prayers will admit of perfect patience at the dry and prosy manner in which the speaker may present this phase of the subject. In 1888 it was my honor to spend five weeks in the State of New York, including the month of October. The opportunity was afforded me to speak in a few of the towns and cities where the Hon. Warner Miller had spoken; and as he may be said to have run on the Republican high-license ticket for the purpose of keeping down the Prohibition vote (high license not being prohibition), and making a strong point everywhere, particularly with farmers, upon the virtues of high license, and in about every instance quoting high-license Illinois by way of proof of his argument, it afforded me ample opportunity to discuss this political phase of the temperance question.

Having been a citizen of Illinois for thirty years, I was not ignorant of the fallacy of his arguments.

I am quite certain that much of it was based on a limited knowledge of the subject, and that a more perfect understanding of the case is had by those living on the ground, where high license is the prevailing policy, than can be had by a view with a thousand miles intervening. I was careful to provide myself with copies of his campaign speech, published under direction of the Campaign Committee, and this constituted the text for my argument. Thus I avoided the charge of misrepresentation.

Now, in 1890, we have opportunity to possess his best thought and matured judgment upon this subject, as presented for public reading in a leading magazine. It is in this form that I take his argument for the text of this lecture. In the December number of the *North American Review* (1889) appears the article referred to. The subject, "High License Justified," constitutes the new line of battle in the solution of the problem, What shall we do with the liquor-traffic? It is a source of gratification that thus early after a national campaign this subject attracts public attention and awakens deep thought. Ample opportunity is afforded to become acquainted with the facts in the case, and be ready intelligently, both in State and Nation, practically to demonstrate at the ballot-box the merit or demerit of these rival principles—Prohibition and high license.

Evidently the issue is narrowed down to this: Prohibition or high license—Which? It is furthermore gratifying that so distinguished a gentleman as Mr. Miller enters the arena as the defender of high

license. This affords a representative presentation of the claims of high license by one who is competent to give us the very best showing for its justification. It is safe to say that he has furnished the strongest arguments available from his stand-point. It is the purpose of my lecture on this occasion to follow as closely as possible the line of Mr. Miller's argument, and show wherein he is found wanting.

If his argument had contained proofs where assumptions stand unsupported, it would have aided much in answer. The Churches examine candidates for the ministry in Bible doctrine. If a theologue states a doctrine, he is also required to furnish the "proof-text." If he fails in this, he has a weak argument. Throughout the argument furnished by the honorable gentleman, the reader is impressed with the frequent annunciation of political doctrine, looking in vain for the proof-text. This is the weakest link in his chain; and as the strength of a chain is its weakest link, so may we judge of the strength of his argument.

I shall take the liberty to quote *verbatim*, and follow with my reply:

Miller: "The regulation and control of the liquor-traffic is one of the most difficult problems with which modern governments have to deal."

Why? For the reason that governments usually undertake the impossible. The regulation and control of the liquor-traffic is an *impossibility*. The dilemma of a Government in its attempt to perform an impossible feat is no greater than that of the individual. The absurdity is the same.

Prohibition is a possibility. Governments demonstrate that prohibition will prohibit. A saloon-keeper refusing to take out Government license, a brewer or distiller who proposes to run without permit, will be prohibited, imprisoned, and have goods and fixtures confiscated. By the permit of the Government the business exists; by its fiat the traffic will die. The machinery that looks after the fees is the same that looks after the keys. The Government says: "I open and no man shuts, and I shut and no man opens." No trouble about that point. "The way to resume is to resume."

Miller: "The uncontrolled or unregulated sale of intoxicating liquors is recognized by all civil governments to be an evil of such magnitude that it can not be safely permitted, and all civilized governments have laws controlling the traffic, more or less restrictive in their nature."

A man holds in his hands two glasses of liquor, of the same kind, quality, and quantity. He desires to drink the one that will do the less harm. One is "controlled" or "regulated" liquor; the other is not. Both are for "sale." The "uncontrolled or unregulated" sale of intoxicating liquors is "an evil of great magnitude." We say to the man, Don't drink that glass. What is the effect of that "uncontrolled" liquor as distinguished from the "well-regulated" glass?

Miller: "These laws [for control or regulation] may be divided into two classes,—one of which, under the form of license or taxation, prescribes rules and

regulations under which intoxicants may be sold, and imposes a license fee or tax upon the seller, and undertakes to enforce these regulations or restrictions through the ordinary means of the law officers of the Government, by its prosecuting attorneys, or in cities through the police department."

These laws Mr. Miller approves. Why? It is not intended by any system he devises that the liquor-traffic shall be abolished. He makes prominent a reduction of the number of saloons by so-called restrictive measures; and yet, while he would outlaw these, *he would legalize those remaining*. We favor any measure that restricts the business and closes even one saloon; but we enter our protest against that system of license, taxation, or regulation that gives legal sanction to saloons remaining. Mr. M.'s argument grants that "intoxicants may be sold." A very distinguished body of high intelligence and good judgment said: "We are unalterably opposed to the enactment of laws that propose, by license, taxing, or otherwise, to regulate the drink-traffic, *because they provide for its continuance, and afford no protection against its ravages*." The high-license system provides for the continuance of the drink-traffic with all its attendant ravages, and it is convenient to say that, under these, "*intoxicants may be sold*."

This system, we are told, "*undertakes to enforce these regulations*;" but it does not finish the job.

Miller: "The other class or system seeks to entirely suppress the traffic by prohibitory laws, usually by putting a prohibitory clause into the Constitution

of the State Government, in order that prohibition may not be repealed by an act of the Legislature. The first method of treatment is the one in almost universal use throughout the world; the other has been tried only in a few States in this country."

As "High License Justified" is an argument against prohibition, we read plainly between the lines the support of a policy which says, in opposition to the "entire suppression" of the traffic, that under the policy sought to be established "*intoxicants may be sold.*" It is also thought objectionable that the entire suppression of the traffic should be sought by "putting a prohibitory clause into the Constitution of the State Government, in order that prohibition may not be repealed by an act of the Legislature."

May I repeat an illustration? If I met a person on the street with an offensive, bloody tumor hanging from his face, between two doctors, one of whom would use "local-option" treatment, and with his knife shave it off smooth and clean, but with conditions remaining in his constitution that would shortly throw it out on his face again with all its offensiveness; and the other proposing constitutional treatment, taking the conditions from which the tumor springs out of the system, thus removing the cause,—which would I prefer should treat the case? The constitutional doctor. Local option may be a temporary relief. We have no further assurance than this. So we find a bloody tumor hanging on the face of the body politic. It is seen at many street-corners. A political doctor says that a sharp local-option knife will remove it.

So he prevails upon the people to aid in the surgical operation. Not a saloon is left after the city election. But next year you are greeted with the tumor—the offensive saloon. Why? The whole system is diseased, and needs Constitutional treatment. Take it out of the system.

Statutory prohibition is only the enlargement of the local-option idea from its application to a community to that of the State, but with the same uncertainty attending its continuance. This fluctuation is no indication of public sentiment, but of the manipulations of the comparatively few and vicious class by the wary partisan. It is the rule, with rare exception, that this class influences local-option liquor victories. A doctor who would persist in giving treatment that would permit the possibility of a return of the tumor, when, at the same time, a treatment is available that would "entirely suppress" it, would be set aside as a quack. What of the political doctor who stands up for a system of treatment that leaves the diseased body politic in a condition in which there is a possibility and probability of the saloon's return, when, close at hand, a treatment is available that would render this offensive thing a Constitutional impossibility?

Miller: "The first of these methods of treatment [taxation and regulation] is the one in almost universal use throughout the world; the other has been tried only in a few States in this country."

He says, "It is not necessary to discuss the question of Prohibition *per se*, or even go into an exam-

ination of its effects where it is in operation," and proceeds to a labored defense of the system of "almost universal use throughout the world;" namely, high license. Is the effort made to underestimate prohibition where it has been tried "only in a few States in this country?" Can any high-license State show as commendable a record as these Prohibition States? Governor Martin, of Kansas, in his last message, said:

"Fully nine-tenths of the drinking and drunkenness prevalent in Kansas eight years ago have been abolished, and I affirm with earnestness and emphasis that this State is to-day the most temperate, orderly, sober community of people in the civilized world. The abolition of the saloons has not only promoted the personal happiness and general prosperity of our citizens, but it has enormously diminished crime, filled thousands of homes, where vice and want and wretchedness once prevailed, with peace, plenty, and contentment, and has materially increased the trade and business of those engaged in the sale of useful and wholesome articles of merchandise. Notwithstanding the fact that the population of the State is steadily increasing, the number of criminals confined in our penitentiary is steadily decreasing. Many of our jails are empty, and all show a marked falling off in the number of prisoners confined. The dockets of our courts are no longer burdened with long lists of criminal cases. In the capital district, containing a population of nearly sixty thousand, not a single criminal case was on the docket when the present term began. The business of the police courts of our larger cities has dwindled to one-fourth of its former proportions, while in cities of the second and third class the occupation of police authorities is practically gone. These suggestive and convincing facts appeal alike to the reason and the conscience of the people. They have

reconciled those who doubted the success, and silenced those who opposed the policy, of prohibiting the liquor-traffic."

Governor Humphrey, succeeding Governor Martin, bears like testimony in his first message. He says:

"The growth of public sentiment in support of Constitutional prohibition in Kansas is steady, healthy, and unmistakable. In the last campaign no political party had the temerity to demand a resubmission of the question to the people in the face of a popular verdict that has been repeated and emphasized every time the popular sense has been taken. As an issue in Kansas politics, resubmission is as dead as slavery. The saloon as a factor in politics, as a moral iniquity, has been outlawed, a fugitive, and a vagabond on the face of the earth, or that part of it within the territorial limits of Kansas. The present legislation in aid of the Prohibitory Amendment is, perhaps, not perfect nor free from objections, but so nearly satisfactory that I doubt if public opinion demands any radical revision, and the law should but be public opinion passed over into public will. Results justify this opinion. The law generally is being respected and enforced, because, by a sort of educational process, it is becoming identified in the public mind with other criminal statutes. This was necessary, for the reason that it was legislation denouncing as a public offense what had not been heretofore, and is not *per se*, criminal. Convictions are thus made easier, where the proof warrants it, because juries and judges have come to regard the law as it is reflected in the light of public judgment. Frequent change, in such a law especially, tends to unsettle public confidence, and begets distrust and doubt. The records of courts and of prisons, from the city calaboose to the penitentiary, show a diminu-

tion of crime and a falling off in our prison population, bearing the most incontestable evidence of the efficiency of the present state of the law and of the prohibitory policy which the law is designed to enforce."*

Miller: "The Prohibitionists of this State [New York] have refused to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in any system of temperance legislation for the restriction of the evils of intemperance, unless it provide for absolute prohibition."

It is safe to say that Prohibitionists co-operate with any and all legislation that tends to lessen the evils of the liquor-traffic. But what is meant by "restriction"? If by restriction is meant a reduction of a few saloons, and the legalization of those remaining, with the supposed logical conclusion that, because fewer saloons exist, there is therefore less evil incident therefrom, we admire the steadfastness of the Prohibitionists of New York. "Refuse to co-operate with their fellow-citizens *in any system*," etc. The only system presented for acceptance is the license system, and a very intelligent and sensible body of men of a representative character said that the system here offered "provides for the continuance of the liquor-traffic, and" (Mr. Miller to the contrary) "affords no protection against its ravages." With the license system the Prohibitionists of New York have wisely refused to co-operate.

Miller: "Their numbers are small, and the prospect of their securing a majority of the people to their

* See Appendix B.

view seems to be hopeless. In the election just past, the Prohibition candidate for governor polled almost exactly two per cent of the entire vote of the State, and as the State Government is the only one which has any control over the sale of liquor, it must be assumed that a very small proportion of our people are in favor of absolute prohibition."

This "two-per-cent" argument seems quite popular with certain gentlemen just now. Two per cent of the entire vote of the State does not mean that the "entire vote of the State" is necessary to the success of prohibition; nor, in these times of many parties, does it mean that a majority is a necessity. With three or four parties largely dividing the suffrage of the people, the per cent is not large, after all, that by plurality may put a once obscure principle into office. Did Mr. Miller think his hope of election was based upon a prospect of receiving a majority of the entire vote of his State? How many times within the history of his party has it elected a President of the United States by a majority of the popular vote? Once only. How many years since the men who laid the foundations for the Republican party were much less than two per cent of the entire voting population? Whig and Democrat alike wrung the "two-per-cent" argument upon these grand men. I know of no cheaper argument in the calendar of reason. Papers are on file to-day that used this two-per-cent argument against party organization as a means for pushing anti-slavery agitation. But action along a line of right principle is not

to be determined by this two-per-cent method, but by fidelity to moral principle. I can not vote a ballot that does not represent my convictions of right. If only one person in New York believed in prohibition, by any and every rule of moral science that one would be right, and all others wrong. Charles Sumner is represented as saying: "Political economy is the application of moral principle to civil government." A few such statesmen to-day would improve the political complexion of the country. He further says: "Where *principle* is, there is my party."

Miller: "For certainly nothing less than an absolute majority of the entire State could hope to enact prohibition legislation, or to maintain it."

The "entire" State of Iowa did not give a majority for prohibition; nor did the entire State of Kansas. If by this is meant that every section of the State must be in accord with what the State in the aggregate has determined, it is scarcely possible that a time should ever come when all sections at the same time would be in accord upon the same principle. To expect this accord before a forward movement shall be made is folly. But why make an exception in this case? Why not apply this rule to all legislation? Are we to infer that recent legislation in New York of doubtful moral tendency had such high regard for majorities that the law-makers were first persuaded that "a very large majority" of the people favored statutory enactment practically justifying wrong? It is getting to be very noticeable that issues that

affect the party checker-board are severely sifted by the politicians. Hence they are generally giving the people along the line of temperance reform the legislation not asked for. Let the thousands of petitioners pray for Constitutional amendment, as in Illinois, and they are met with the legalization of the liquor-traffic and methods for its perpetuation, such as high license and falsely-called restrictive measures.

Miller: "As all people admit the great evil growing out of the traffic in intoxicating liquors, and also the great additional cost to our Government through the crime and pauperism created by it, the question arises, What ought an intelligent people do in regard to it?"

I am not aware that the Government is at any expense in caring for the results of the liquor-traffic. It is generally supposed that the Government gets the revenue from the traffic, and the people pay the bills created by resultant crime, poverty, etc. But who will pay the cost of high license? *Consumers*. The question, therefore, resolves itself into this: Shall we transfer the expense of caring for the consequences of the liquor-traffic from the shoulders of the people, through whom the usual expenses of Government are met, and put the same on the shoulders of the unfortunate slaves and victims of the drink-traffic?

The receipts for high-license in Chicago, for 1888, amounted to \$1,992,446, and the wholesale liquor-dealers added \$21,349.97, and the brewers \$18,250—a total

of \$2,031,945.97. Paul Schuster, editor of the *Champion*, organ of the beer and wine interests, in commenting upon this fact, said: "What a pity that the fools [Prohibitionists] can not get a taste of the results of prohibition for just one year! That would silence them forever." But Chicago pays into the coffers of the liquor-traffic \$28,000,000 annually. It is estimated that \$12,000,000 of this come from laboring men. What have they to show for it? Worse than nothing. Which would profit Chicago more, the total of \$2,031,945.97 in the city treasury, or \$28,000,000 saved to the homes of the people, with money to invest in legitimate pursuits? With \$900,000,000 in the Nation taken out of the people's pocket for drink, say nothing of litigation and many other expenses in consequence, that \$80,000,000 revenue may annually accumulate, in the estimate intelligence will place upon it, which would benefit the Nation more, the \$80,000,000 in revenue or \$900,000,000 added to the people's wealth? "What a pity that the liquor editors can not get a taste of the results of prohibition for just one year! That would silence them [the liquor-dealers] forever." If governors of States where prohibition now prevails are to be accepted as witnesses in this case, I am confident the high-license claim will be ruled out of court. With the facts before us, the question, "What ought an intelligent people to do in regard to it?" is easily answered; namely, contend for prohibition without stint of zeal or lagging energy.

Miller: "If prohibition is impossible, and even of doubtful value if it could be adopted, what course

remains open by which the evils of the system can be mitigated, crime lessened, and pauperism minimized?"

"If prohibition is impossible!" Who says "If?" How does he know it is impossible? Has there been a trial? If so, where? And what is the showing officially given? Success is written upon the banner of every Prohibition State in the Union. Has it been tried in New York? No. Is it a failure in New York? "Yes," says Mr. Miller. How can a method be pronounced a failure that has never been tried?

Miller: "There seems to be a growing sentiment, not only in the State, but in the entire country, that high license in the form of a strong law, carrying with it severe penalties for violation of the terms of the license, is at present the only feasible remedy, and the only way in which, under the present condition of public opinion, we can hope to secure any reformation."

"A growing sentiment . . . in the entire country" in favor of high license? By whom? Rev. Dr. Fry, editor *Central Christian Advocate*, St. Louis, after enumerating a few classes who favor high license, says:

"It has also as its most ready adherents the keepers and supporters of the most reputable clubs and fashionable saloons; and especially has it the favor of the liquor manufacturers and wholesale dealers who would purchase recognition as a legitimate and honorable commercial class at any price. They see in high license under ecclesiastical leadership the possible attainment of their desires. *But no*

one else looks upon it with so great satisfaction and is so willing to 'work' for it as the professional politician. His theory is to make friends of everybody, to patronize all persons. Good Lord and good devil, describes his faith and his practice. He is not willing to attack such a combination of interests as that united for the defense of the liquor-traffic. He does not believe in any reform that will lose him votes. His associations are with drinking men, and he has learned the power of the saloon in politics. The men who take an active part in political management to-day have no great faith in honesty, much less faith in a moral reform, which, if it prevails, would dispense with their services altogether. This is a combination that just now has the control in all our cities, the fountains of political management. The political leaders in the old parties are nearer in harmony in favor of high license than on any other subject. They have, with slight exception, the support of the political press without respect of party."

This fairly represents the "growing sentiment" in favor of high license.

We see, however, that a dose of prohibition must be taken with the price of the license to make it go down; namely, "severe penalties for the violation of the terms of the license." If "severe" penalties can be meted out to those who violate the terms of a license, why not say that the same authority can do likewise for selling liquor at all? Which is the more deserving of penalty, the man who violates a law based in unrighteousness, or he who violates the supreme law of right?

But the false statement that tax and penalties placed on the liquor-traffic are restrictive needs to be ex-

posed. When the United States Government put its highest tax on whisky, that commodity took its "boom." "Whisky in bond," while in name policed by the Government, is also protected by the National authority until its age gives it increased market value. What a splendid scheme for farmers to insist on Government warehouses being built and products protected till markets for grain are profitable! Almost any farmer, by such a method, would be glad to share profits with the Government. Tax and penalty solve no problem. In 1850, there were 7,000 criminals in the prisons of this country. In 1880, there were 76,000, and still increasing; and the lowest estimate made is that seventy-five per cent of these came from the liquor-habit. Yet these thirty years have been years of license, taxation, restriction, and penalty. To-day, under a high-license system that New York can not hope to attain (and no attainment is promised), Illinois is building additions to her already crowded penitentiaries, to make room for the incoming tide of criminals of her high-license liquor-traffic.

Miller: "This high-license system is at present the only feasible remedy, and the only way in which, under the present condition of public opinion, we can hope to secure any reformation."

The best head and heart of the Nation pronounce this statement and the principle it represents "*powerless as a remedy.*" Yet it is by this distinguished gentleman called the "only feasible remedy." Politicians are not likely to represent "public sentiment"

where party interests are at stake. It will be a matter of interest to compare the following, and judge of the hopelessness of any action satisfactory to a Christian conscience from parties that are rivals for the liquor vote:

Hon. J. B. Foraker, Cincinnati, June 23, 1884. *Liquor-dealers' National Protective Association, Sept. 11, 1888.*

"We know that the principles of regulation are eternal, and will stand. And to those principles of regulation and taxation of the liquor-traffic, be it known to all men, the Republican party is unalterably committed."

Hon. Warner Miller.

"Time was when high license was merely a theory, for it had not been put into practice, but that time is passed. High license is no longer an experiment; it is no longer a theory; it is an accomplished fact."

"In refutation of the fallacies and errors and misrepresentation of prohibition, and believing excess in the use of anything is to be deplored, we are strongly in favor of the policy of regulation," etc.

P. E. Iler, President Willow Springs Distilling Company, Omaha.

"I believe, if it were put to a vote of the liquor-dealers and saloon-men whether it should be high license, no license, or low license, that they would almost unanimously be for high license."

"High license . . . no injury to our business. . . . If left to us [the liquor-dealers], we would never repeal this law; . . . we would never do without it; . . . bars out prohibition."—*Menz & Bro., Brewers and Maltsters, Omaha, Neb.*

Beneficial Results.

"In a large number of the States in the Union high-license laws have been in operation for from one to five years. Wherever they have been tried they have

Beneficial Results.

"We are positively certain that were it not for our present high-license law, Nebraska to-day would have prohibition."—*Menz & Bro., Brewers, Omaha.*

produced many beneficial results."—*Warner Miller.*

"No respectable liquor-dealer objects to the proper regulation of the traffic, nor to the imposition of a reasonable pecuniary burden upon it; but all must unitedly, as one man, *oppose the growing-impending danger of prohibition.*"—*J. M. Atherton, President National Protective Association.*

"The benefits [of high license] coming to the State of Pennsylvania under the operations of this law can only be estimated by the millions of dollars in the actual savings of the people."—*Warner Miller.*

"In the revenues of the wicked is trouble." (Prov.)

"Better is a little with righteousness than great revenues without right." (Prov. xvi, 8; Isa. x, 1; Jer. xii, 13; Psa. x, 2-18; Jer. v, 26-28.

"Their places of business are convenient rendezvous for politicians of all classes, and much of the ordinary political work is carried on in the convenient saloon."—*Warner Miller.*

Fifty-four of the seventy-seven Republican caucuses last held in Buffalo, N. Y., were held in saloons. A like per cent in New York City were held in same places.

"There are hundreds of saloons in Cincinnati and other Ohio cities that are substantially Republican club-houses."—*Commercial Gazette* (Republican).

"We approve of the taxation of the liquor-traffic for revenue, and for the purpose of providing against

"Our National organization is twenty-four years old. During all those years the Republicans have been in power in National affairs, and I submit to every candid brewer, be he Democrat or Republican, if the brewing interests of our country

the evils resulting from such traffic."—*Ohio Republican Platform*, 1883.

have not grown to immense proportions, if our rights and our interests have not been fostered, protected, and encouraged by our Government."—*Secretary Outhout, Brewers' Congress*.

Miller: "In a large number of States of the Union, high-license laws have been in operation for from one to five years. Wherever they have been tried, they have produced many beneficial results. They have, in all cases, largely reduced the number of saloons, and especially those of the lower and vile order, where most of the crimes are committed. In some of the States high-license laws reduced the number of saloons about one-half. In some of the cities and States the reduction has been much larger. The reduction of the number of saloons has been followed in all cases by a corresponding reduction in the amount of crime committed in the community. This is verified by reference to the records of the courts, jails, and prisons, which, in all cases, show a large falling off in the number of arrests and commitments."

If the above statements were put on trial before any intelligent court, it is quite certain that time and place of such reduction of the number of saloons would be called for, and statistics would be demanded. But before the court of public opinion we are expected to take the author's bare statement, but we demand proof.

First. Is it a fact that high license has "largely reduced the number of saloons?" What States and cities have been rid of "one-half" of their saloons? and where has this reduction been "much larger" than

one-half? Illinois is a model high-license State. The experiment has been tried six years, and now enters upon its seventh. The license fee is \$500. What fee does Warner Miller advocate in New York? Illinois has 12,000 saloons. She did not have that many before high license. Chicago may be accepted as a model high-license city. In 1882 the license fee was \$52—the city had 3,759 saloons; in 1883, fee \$103, saloons 3,747; in 1884, fee \$500, saloons 3,365; in 1885, fee \$500, saloons 3,487; in 1886, fee \$500, saloons, 3,700; in 1887, fee \$500, saloons 3,944, and the number still increasing. Through the beneficent workings of high license toward "the trade," Chicago has, in 1890, increased the number of her saloons to 5,400—an increase from 3,759 under low license of 1,641. It will not do to claim annexations to the city as the cause of this; for it must be remembered that many of the annexed towns covered prohibition districts, and the annexation was conditioned upon their remaining such. In Bloomington, Peoria, Joliet, Quincy, Belleville, and other cities, high license gives none of the benefits claimed, except revenue. Nebraska has a license fee of \$1,000. The law went into effect in 1883. At that time the State had 1,024 saloons. In 1885 they had 1,524 saloons. In 1880 there was one saloon to 451, and in 1885 one saloon to every 292 inhabitants. In Omaha the model high-license city in the Nation, high license has failed to do what is claimed for it. The saloons were at first reduced—in 1881 from 150 to 80—as is usual in a sudden change of policy; but, giving time for the traffic to adjust itself to the cir-

cumstances, now it is said the number greatly exceeds that of the last year of low license. The statement that high license has in some of the States reduced the number of saloons "one-half" is an assumption without foundation in fact. In Illinois there are many cities with licensed saloons, where, before struck with high-license corruption, dram-shops were voted out.

Secondly. It is claimed that the high-licensed saloons are of better character, and that this method closes out the low dives, and that crime is reduced. That this is true we fail to see. Precisely the same results come from the business under high license as under low. In Illinois, increased room in the penitentaries is needed, and at Chester an extensive enlargement of the prison is just completed. The same men are engaged in the business as before. That the number of dollars paid for the privilege of selling has had that influence upon character usually attributed to the grace of God, is seriously doubted out West. It is claimed by the gentleman we answer, that if a man is able to keep a high-priced saloon, it is apt to be a respectable one. It is difficult for the ordinary mind to see, so far as character is concerned, the difference between a polished saloon and one, from poverty of the owner, not polished, except it be the difference between the whitened sepulcher and the one not whitened. Is the unwhited sepulcher "full of dead men's bones and all manner of uncleanness?" It is quite certain that the whitened sepulcher, which indeed appears outwardly beautiful, contains the same. It is the stuff inside that gives

offense to God and true conscience. The same disreputable men are in the business; so where is the respectability from? The high-licensed saloons of Chicago are not so virtuous but we set to their account the secret lurking-places of Anarchy. The press of Chicago has given striking portrayals of the "Black Hole" portion of the city, where prostitution runs riot. Your more respectable high-license saloon seems to thrive in greater numbers in such places than elsewhere. George C. Haddock was the victim of men who were strong advocates of the "restrictive," "regulative" and "refining" measures of high license over that of prohibition.

St. Louis, in high-licensed Missouri, receives \$550 from the saloons. That they are not the abodes of the virtue claimed for the system is quite certain, if we are to accept the statements coming from that quarter. The *Republic* speaks of these resorts as "low dives," "political saloons," and for a month or more, in successive daily issues of that paper, column after column is devoted to the *exposé* of the prostitution, theft, and murder common there, not leaving out a striking pen-picture of the disreputable characters who pose as the "proprietors" of these "dens." The grace of high license has not had a refining influence upon the men in the business, nor upon their business, if Chicago, Omaha, and St. Louis are to be taken as models. And the astounding thing about it is, that average politicians, with the average party press, cry out as a remedy, "Give us more of the same kind of grace!"

Statistics substantiate this showing. Again, I select Chicago for illustration. The table now at hand is as follows:

Year.	Fee.	Saloons.	Bbls. Beer Consumed.	Drunks and Disorderlies.	Total Arrests.
1882	\$52	3,759	872,228	18,045	32,800
1883	103	3,749	903,653	21,416	37,187
1884	500	3,365	1,055,732	23,080	39,437
1885	500	3,487	1,115,623	25,407	40,998
1886	500	3,700	1,340,000	26,067	44,201
1887	500	3,944	1,674,146	27,632	46,505
1890	500	5,400	1,848,243	.....	50,432

In all the history of high license in Illinois, there has never been a reduction of the consumption of liquor and consequent crime, but a marked increase.

But here is what the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* says in its issue of July 30, 1886, and just at the period when the virtues of high license were to be realized; and remember that the *Inter-Ocean* is a high-license Republican paper, and from that quarter is superior authority. Here is its statement as it appeared:

“BEER GUZZLERS—CHICAGO’S THIRSTY POPULATION.

“The increase in the consumption of beer in Chicago seems to keep pace with the increase of population, in spite of all the work done by the W. C. T. U., Good Templars, Prohibition clubs, and temperance people generally. The consumption, in barrels of thirty gallons each, in this city for the past six years was as follows: 1880, 650,726; 1881, 744,566; 1882, 872,228; 1883, 963,652; 1884, 1,055,732; 1885, 1,115,623. The amount for the fiscal year ending May 1, 1886 is 1,157,282, and the estimate for the calendar year of 1886 is over 1,200,000. It may even ex-

ceed that; for 85,000 barrels were drank in May, 1885, and over 102,000 barrels consumed during the same month in 1886. Most of this beer is produced in Chicago, which consumed the entire product of its twenty-three breweries and imported 265,908 barrels last year from Milwaukee. The beer is sold to the retail dealers at \$8 per barrel, with 25 per cent off, the actual price being \$6 per barrel. Hence, it will be seen that the *wholesale* cost of the beer drank in this city is \$6,943,692. Some interesting figures can be obtained from the data given. *The 1,157,282 barrels drank in the last fiscal year equaled 34,718,460 gallons and about 520,776,900 glasses. At five cents a glass, this would sell for \$26,038,845.* If Chicago contains 750,000 people, this would amount to a consumption of eight barrels or 3,600 glasses per year for each family, being 720 glasses per year for every man, woman, and child in the city. The cost of this at five cents per glass would be \$34.70 for every person, or about \$173.50 per year for every family. Those figures are rather too large, however, as most of the saloons do a heavy 'bucket trade,' supplying families with the article by the quart or gallon at five cents a pint. If these beer barrels were set side by side in a straight line, they would reach over six hundred miles. If piled up end on end, they would extend 820 miles high."

What is true of Chicago is true of the Nation. *In 1890 the drink-bill exceeded that of 1889 by \$104,000,000.* The high-license cities and States give the greatest increase of consumption and crime. Verily, Mr. Miller must grind some other grist than that with which he has furnished the country. His "refuge of lies" will fail him.

Special stress is laid upon this point, namely:

High license reduces the number of saloons. The New York Tribune, October 25, 1888, said: "If the Prohibitionists had voted for Ira Davenport [a strong advocate of the license system] instead of David B. Hill, three years ago, a high-license law would have already been in operation at least a year, and probably half of the saloons in the State would have been closed." And the other half would have held a jollification for the profit and increase of their business.

The *Globe-Democrat*, of St. Louis, said, alluding to the same: "They [the Prohibitionists] have an opportunity at the present time of coalescing with the advocates of high license, and thus reducing the number of saloons in the State [New York] to a considerable extent—according to some sixty-six per cent." Speaking of the Crosby Bill, the same paper said: "The Crosby High-license Bill, passed by the New York Legislature, is the best practical temperance measure ever adopted in the State, and its effect every body concedes, would be to largely reduce the number of saloons in New York City and Brooklyn." The logic seems to be that the reduction of the number of saloons will reduce the consumption of liquor. The statistics prove the contrary. If as much or more liquor is sold by fewer saloons than by the many, the problem is not solved. The witnesses produced upon this point are those engaged in the liquor-business, all in model high-license States. Dick Brothers' Brewing Company, Quincy, Illinois, say: "High license has not hurt our business so far. . . . A license not to exceed \$500 per annum . . . would be a benefit

to the retailer and the trade. . . . If not accompanied with other prohibitory measures, it *will not lessen the consumption of liquor*,"—a confession that it is the *prohibitory measure* that reduces the consumption of liquor, and not the fee paid for license. George Krunnsick, vice-president Anheuser Brewing Association, St. Louis, says: "High license has not, to our perception, hurt our business. . . . High license bars out prohibition. . . . High license *does not lessen the consumption of liquor or beer*." C. K. Bowman, speaking for the distillery of the *Cedar Valley rye whisky*, says: "A good and well-regulated license, not to exceed \$300 to \$500, will not hurt the trade. *We do not find the demand for liquor in Ohio any less than when there was no license*. . . . *The liquor-sellers are not in favor of a repeal of the law*." We will add one more witness, the Willow Spring Distilling Company, Omaha, Neb.: "High license has not hurt our business. . . . *High license does not lessen the quantity of liquor used*."

That high license closed out a few saloons in Chicago is true. But who were the keepers? The German population is great in that city. Before the advent of high license it was not unusual to see, in the rear of a grocery and provision store kept by a German, a small beer-bar. He could afford to pay \$52 per year for the privilege. Here his customers would drop in, and spend a social hour over their mug of beer. Possibly a single keg was the stock in trade on any single day. This man's place was not a palace, for his means were limited. But there were

no cards, billiards, or gambling, and no enticements to allure young men from the path of virtue. This man, unable to pay \$500, closed out that part of his business. The room above was usually occupied by the family of the proprietor. Five hundred dollars closed that "dive" (?) and many such. Did it improve the character of the business on the other corner? There is the saloon that pays \$500. It has everything fancy and alluring. The billiard and card table are fixtures there, and gambling is a part of the business. The belief is current that instead of the proprietor occupying the upper apartments, an attachment of prostitution is no uncommon fixture. It is the logic of license that if higher fee is levied, certain appendages of doubtful character are necessary to success. This is strongly hinted at by a liquor firm which knows whereof it speaks. Dick Bros'. Brewing Company, Quincy, Ill., furnish this testimony: "*High license has not hurt our business so far, except where the license was so excessively high [it is only \$500] that no respectable saloon could exist under it WITHOUT TAKING RE COURSE TO COMBINE WITH IT OTHER PURSUITS NOT RESPECTABLE OR HONORABLE.*" If the business is respectable, why talk of combining "with other pursuits not respectable or honorable?" King Alcohol sits on his throne with his Queen Prostitution by his side. They have never so far proven false to each other as to apply for a divorce.

It is customary to hear proofs of the beneficent workings of high license in Illinois quoted from Mr. Harper, the author of the Illinois law. But these

statistics were furnished by Mr. Harper when high license had been in force but one year in the State, and but four months in the city of Chicago. The benefit in Illinois, as in Pennsylvania, was immediately after its enactment, and its virtue lies in its prohibitory features and not in the fee. Let it be known that the time of apparent decrease of saloons in Illinois was an era of local-option agitation, and, without reference to high license, the people at the ballot-box in their village and city elections closed hundreds of saloons. Strange that this prominent factor, which has had, many times over, more to do in closing saloons than high license, is not noticed by the defenders of high license, and because the people have in these years been active in their campaign against the grog-shop the apostles of high license run up the credit to that system, and shout with great gusto, "Great is High License of the Republicans!" when, in truth, they have had little if anything to do in downing the saloon.

Are high-license saloons better in character than others? Rockford, Ill., a model high-license city (\$800), in the spring of 1888 closed out her saloons because of their criminal character and tendency. They could endure them no longer. They again have saloons at an increased license, with the accompanying increase of drunkenness and crime. The following is a correct copy of a letter from Pittsfield, Ill., a good county-seat, showing the character of high-license saloons. This city had the high-license system before it became a State law. Date, April

20, 1883: "A no-license board, after making public improvements, left money in the treasury to finish macadamizing the public square. Under plea of high license, a change was effected for four years' license; that is, the first year \$500, the second \$800, the third \$1,000, the fourth \$2,000. On the last a compromise was effected, and the license was \$1,500. During the last ten months of this high-license administration, when we had no fires for four years, there were eleven fires, nearly all traceable to incendiarism. One individual fire was a loss of \$10,000. High license did not reduce the number of rum-shops; did wonderfully increase drunkenness, drawing in an unclean brood, that endangered life and property. Inhabitants who could get away, left for sober towns in which to rear their children. Consequently, rents went down, property declined, and at the end of the fourth year of high license the town was \$2,700 in debt. No prosecution for the violation of ordinances. Many boys, and even girls, drunk on the streets. Two suicides and three attempts during last year. City marshal shot dead, and others wounded.* Gambling, thieving, crime of every kind, held high carnival, until the most ardent license people were stunned, and the following year voted no license by 175 majority. These are a few of the leading facts. The

* In Atlanta, Ga., in July, 1887, under prohibition, there were 400 arrests; 85 for drunkenness. In July, 1890, under high license, the arrests were 1,200; 224 for drunkenness.

hidden crime it caused, eternity alone will reveal."* (Rev. M. Auer.)

Ex-Mayor H. W. Hardy, of Lincoln, Neb., who was the father of high license in Nebraska, bears testimony against it in every particular. He can scarcely use words strong enough in its condemnation. Rev. J. B. Maxfield, D. D., says: "So far from being a gain, high license [in Nebraska] is a step backward; nay, it is an entire disaster." After observing the results of high license, every presiding elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church in that State bears witness against it. The action of the General Conference in May, 1888, reflects the universal sentiment of the ministry of the largest religious denomination in America. "It can not be legalized without sin," say the bishops. "We are unalterably opposed to the enactment of laws that propose, by license, taxing, or otherwise, to regulate the drink-traffic, because *they provide for its continuance, and afford no protection against its ravages.*"† A politician may say, "The

*East St. Louis, the scene of the riots a few years ago, contains large numbers of high-license saloons. They were regarded so fruitful of danger as feeders of disorder that the State militia ordered them closed.

†This action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church reflects the Christian sentiment of the "many Western States" concerning the workings of high license. It is clear there is a wide difference between this action and the statement of Mr. Miller concerning the same thing. The General Conference utters a sentiment that is general, and to which there is no exception in the "many Western States."

principles of regulation are eternal," but the Church of God accepts the challenge, and answers back, "We are *unalterably opposed*" to such principles. Which-ever side in this controversy can be conscious of identity with godly principles, is assured of success.

Miller: "This is true in the city of Philadelphia [that is, that records of courts prove falling off of crime], where the high-license law went into effect on the 1st of June this year [1888]. The records of the city of Philadelphia show that the commitments for vice, growing out of drunkenness, for the four months of June, July, August, and September of the year 1887, before high license went into effect, were 10,956, and for the corresponding four months of the year 1888, when the law was in force, the number of commitments was 6,929, showing a decrease in four months, under the present law, of 4,027. The records also show a decrease in the commitments to the House of Correction," etc.

Rev. S. T. Mitchell, in a letter to the New York *Advocate*, January 24, 1889, on "The Temperance Outlook in Pennsylvania," gives counter testimony. He says:

"With half the number of saloons and twice the receipts, such claim this law a wise enactment in order to secure revenue. *Plausible as that may seem, the high-license feature of the Brooks Law is not to be credited with the reduction in the number of licensed saloons.* In 1888, 11,601 persons applied for license to sell liquor, as against the 14,704 granted in 1887. The reduction from that to 7,733, the number granted, is to be credited, not to the high license, but to other restrictive features of the law. *There were not only more applications for license in thirty-one counties in 1888*

than there were the year previous, when there was low license, but five counties in which there were no licenses granted in 1887 applied for them in 1888.

"The reduction in the number of saloons was specially marked in Pittsburg and Philadelphia; but the police reports show there were 448 more arrests for drunkenness in the former during the months from May 1, 1888, to January 1, 1889, than were made during the same months of the year 1887. With these facts, and believing, as they do, 'the complete legal prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic drinks the duty of civil government,' all Protestant Churches, some Roman Catholics, and a host of men outside any Church, say the amendment should be supported by every well-wisher of the State."

It is not enough to show that the number of saloons have been reduced. The vital question before us is *the reduction of the consumption of liquor*. Be not blinded by the deception that one-half the saloons in any State have been closed by high license. *It is not so, and I challenge proof of that statement*; and, if proven, I challenge whether there has been a corresponding reduction of liquor consumption. Who will accept the challenge?

Miller: "The reports from Minnesota state that the effect of the law has been to reduce the consumption of liquor equal to or greater than the reduction in the number of saloons."

That is to say that men who are in a business for no other purpose than the money that is in it, are paying a larger price for the privilege of selling less goods! Believe it who will, the falsity of the statement is seen upon its surface.

Miller: "It [high license] has tended to increase the purity of elections. . . . Wherever it has been tried, it has taken the saloon out of politics; that is to say, it has destroyed the political power of the saloon," etc.*

The saloon *per se* is not in politics. *It is the liquor-traffic that is in politics.* The saloon is an incident of the liquor-traffic. The traffic is intrenched in the distillery and brewery, two gigantic trees, whose existence depends upon appendages called saloons. The saloon is the limb of the tree on which the fruit is borne, and from which it is plucked and consumed. In New York City hundreds of these are provided by the trunk of the traffic. Such is the case in Chicago also. In a town of two thousand people in Illinois, a firm offered \$4,000 for the exclusive right of one saloon. These saloons are only deposits for the goods of the principal owner, the brewer and distiller. The United States Government has a contract with these firms. It is sought by the incoming Administration to make the liquor-traffic (not the saloon *per se*, which is only incidental) a "permanent resource"

* In 1880 the Republican State Committee in Ohio assessed twenty wholesale liquor-dealers in Cincinnati \$1,000 each for campaign purposes, making in all \$20,000 contributed to the National campaign. In this case it was the *party* that made the assessment. It is reasonable to suppose that such liberality would not go unrewarded. "Protection" of the traffic, under the guise of the "eternal" principle of "regulation," seems to be the reward of the traffic. Compare quotation from Secretary Outhout, of the Brewers' Congress, Rochester.

of revenue for the Government. If the *liquor-traffic* accepts this partnership (and it has, and is desirous to continue the compact), then, in this relation to the Government, it becomes identified with its policy, affecting every economic question. It is thereby interwoven with the political economy of the Government. It is, therefore, the *National liquor-traffic* we deal with. For this reason candidates have been known to be more interested in the success of a National ticket than that of a State, that the Government may be kept intact in this partnership. Can any so-called statesman look honest men in the face, and pretend seriousness in his utterances of reform, when, in the very necessity of the case, the Government compact with the liquor-traffic, whether expressed or implied, means the perpetuity and successful advancement of that traffic in one form or another? It therefore holds good that, whatever of contrary pretension or professions, he who advocates the *liquor-traffic* as a permanent resource for Government revenue, also supports it, in some form or other, in the individual State. Such statesmanship will never be convicted of any utterances the significance of which means the ultimate extinction of the liquor-traffic. *It is not designed by the old parties that any proposition shall be entertained, Constitutionally or otherwise, that looks to the overthrow of the liquor-traffic.* For such a politician to talk boldly about getting rid of the "political saloon" through high license is to advertise his own insincerity.

Miller: "It is undoubtedly true that the liquor-dealers of the State of New York pay more money, in the way of contributions for political purposes, than they would have to pay under a proper high-license law."

That is to say, the high-license treasury will prove satisfactory, for the simple reason that through its agency the funds would be imposed by law where otherwise it would carry with it the uncertainty of a voluntary contribution. Under the high-license system, the necessity of dividing the "floaters" into "blocks of five" will be avoided, and this large class, found in every city, can be divided into "blocks" of hundreds, under the direction of a competent man, and in the name of street contracts, leisurely worked out, can accomplish, through the guise of honorable service, a political end that will not draw upon the bribery fund of the National Committee. This method will accommodate the political brewer and distiller, upon whom heavy assessments are made for political purposes.

In 1888 twenty thousand dollars were said to be appropriated in the campaign in Ohio. This fund came directly from the large dealers, but indirectly from the saloons that belong to the Protective Association of Liquor-dealers.

Miller: "The high-license laws, now in operation in various States, have taken the saloons, as a class, out of politics."

When, as the *Commercial Gazette* says, many saloons in Cincinnati are Republican club-rooms, how

are we to understand this statement that high-license laws have taken the same out of politics? With Sheridan Shook at the head of the New York delegation, a high-license candidate for governor, whose predecessor, as candidate for the same office, was interested in the success of the liquor-traffic, and also favoring high license, and a National Convention presided over by another extensively interested in the wine trade, it is difficult for us to persuade ourselves of the sincerity or truthfulness of the statement that high-license liquor has gone out of politics. "Know a man by the company he keeps." With such associations alluded to, we believe that the liquor-traffic is in politics, and that its fixture there is in proportion to the price paid. Destroy this breastwork of high license and revenue, and the defense of the traffic by law is gone. The traffic is aware of this, and so is the average politician. Peter Iler, distiller, Omaha, says: "High license is one of the grandest laws for the liquor-traffic, and for men interested, and for people at large, there is." Mentz Bros., brewers, Omaha, say: "We are positively certain that, were it not for our present high-license law, Nebraska to-day would have prohibition." Dick Bros., brewers, Quincy, Ill., say: "High license will bar out prohibition, and will give the business a legal standing."

Instead of high license removing the saloon from politics, it makes it prominent therein, so much so that very respectable men have been known to take high license into politics, and that, too, for the very purpose mentioned by the liquor-dealers; namely, to

“ bar out prohibition ” and keep down its vote. High license not in politics! If not, then it is difficult to explain why the apologists of high license are there.

Miller: “ Another important result growing out of high license is the increased receipts from the saloons, by which they are made to pay a much larger proportion of the cost to the people of the crime and pauperism caused by the traffic.”

Mr. Miller frequently uttered this sentiment in his campaign speech in October, 1888. I quote from the same, as published in tract form, and distributed as a political document. In speaking of high license he says :

“ The revenue received from saloons has been largely increased, thereby relieving *legitimate business and property from much of the taxation which comes upon us* for the support of poor-houses, jails, and courts, largely existing as the result of the saloon’s existence and work. Wherever this system has been tried, it has been found to work well and constitute a great improvement. It has just gone into operation in the State of Pennsylvania, and it has already reduced the number of saloons in that State about one-half, and increased receipts from taxation placed on the saloons one hundred per cent. That is the result in Pennsylvania, and substantially the result in New Jersey, so far as the law has been tested ; and the same results have been found in Ohio, Illinois, Nebraska, and several other Western States.”

This statement is very misleading. It conveys the idea that the fund created by the revenue from high license has something to do in lessening the ex-

penses of poor-houses, jails, and courts; and as he quotes "Ohio, Illinois, Nebraska, and several other Western States," I take it for granted that the working of high license in one of these States illustrates its application in others. I speak for Illinois. The revenue from high license does none of these things claimed for it. It goes into the municipal treasury, and is appropriated on such expenses as the municipal government is concerned with. It pays no "poor-house" expense. The only "court" that draws on this fee is the municipal court. The only officers receiving fee from this fund are municipal officers. Carlinville, county-seat of Macoupin County, will illustrate every county in the State having saloons. It has a number of saloons paying \$500 license fee. One of these proprietors pays into the *county treasury* about fifty cents tax. He pays into the city treasury \$500. Two men from the country, who possibly pay twenty-five cents each into the county treasury, visit this city saloon. They drink to intoxication, quarrel, and one shoots the other dead. There is an arrest, imprisonment, trial, sentence, and penitentiary. The three individuals in this transaction pay one hundred cents in the aggregate into the county treasury. How much of that high-license fee of \$500 goes into the county treasury? *Not one cent.* How much did that high-license traffic take out of the county treasury as the expense of executing the law? *Three thousand dollars.* High license in this case does not pay one cent into, but takes three thousand dollars out of, the people's treas-

ury.* I have given an actual occurrence, and repeat it often, and it illustrates the case of high license in Illinois. High license in Illinois pays no expense of jails, poor-houses, or penitentiaries, though the liquor-traffic furnishes 87 per cent of their inmates. These are built and supported by tax on real estate; and the most substantial real-estate owner is the farmer, and on the great fundamental principle of popular government involved in this liquor question, he is disfranchised, as his class is from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and that, too, at the high behest of partisans subservient to the liquor-traffic. This principle of taxation without representation, I repeat again and again, was dumped into the sea by the Colonists as a foreign principle, unworthy to land in this country. And yet we proceed, at the high behest of the liquor-traffic, to perpetuate the same principle, and to an extent that would have shamed King George. Until the American farmer has the same right at the ballot-box that the liquor-dealer has, he can continue in servitude to the same, by the traffic creating the bills

* Illinois has over \$6,000,000 invested in prisons. These are built by taxation through the usual methods, without reference to the source of most crime. The property of liquor-dealers can not be distinguished against in the imposition of tax. Any burden in that direction laid upon it must be in the character of a license to sell liquor. The liquor sold produces the crime. The crime produced, with the more than \$6,000,000 of prisons filled by it, is supported from the treasury that receives nothing from license. Municipal treasuries into which license fees are paid, contribute nothing to State expense.

and the disfranchised farmer largely paying the same. Keep it before the people that the liquor-dealer is an American citizen with more rights than the American farmer.

Miller: "Experience shows that in all the States where high-license laws have been enacted, the laws are well enforced; for each licenser becomes at once an assistant officer of the Government to enforce the law."

"Enforced," but in what particular? Let the same authority answer: "Having paid a high-license fee, he can not afford to have his neighbor sell without payment of a similar fee." According to this argument, the enforcement of high license consists in the collection of the fee. Is this all? But this "enforcement" is aided from another source.

At Mound City, Ill., "Murderers' Corner" has a palatial high-license saloon. Mr. Miller has said that if a man is able to keep a high-priced saloon, it is apt to be a respectable one. But in this instance this splendid corner is a nest of unclean birds. In passing it on my way to church, I heard unusual revelry, and I said: "Do you allow your saloons to be open on Sabbath?" "O yes," was the reply; "it is generally considered that these places are not to be 'pulled,' since they aid the city with large fees." So the authorities wink at the crime and immorality going on, and thus help to "enforce high license" by collecting the fee! But how about indifference to law? Does high license have to do with enforcement of prosecutions? Nay, verily. Then it is that the

only redeeming feature is not the "fee," but *prohibition*.

I am confident that the unbiased judgment weighing this "sum of all villainies," the liquor-traffic, in the scales of reason and common sense, will find any apology for it a deceit and a fraud. This last compromise that would establish a "Mason and Dixon's Line" in our methods of treatment, called high license, will find, as in slavery, that a compromise with wrong settles nothing; for "what is morally wrong can not be politically right." Instead of baptizing this method with political respectability, and calling it High License, better hold it up to execration by the Christian conscience and ballot, and brand it *High-lie-sin*. I think that the fitting definition of this whole license deception and fraud is to be found in the language of Rev. Samuel Small, in his debate with Mr. Rosewater, editor of the Omaha *Bee*: "High license is a device of the devil, patented by the politicians to coin buzzard dollars to lay on the eyes of dead consciences of the people, to make the corpse look respectable."

God grant us a living, breathing, active conscience in this matter—a conscience that finds its peace in a positive protest of conviction against this crime of crimes; and may that conscience be consecrated to a practical demonstration of its convictions by voting accordingly!

LECTURE III.

HIGH LICENSE WRONG IN PRINCIPLE.

MR. CHAIRMAN—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

There lived in a prosperous town, in Illinois, an able lawyer, with a few eccentricities, particularly so when on periodical sprees, which he was known to take. On one of these occasions, he was arrested and fined for disturbing the peace. Paying his fine, the "spree" continued. Next day he was brought again before the justice for again disturbing the peace. He pleaded his own case, and argued that a man could not be tried and twice fined for the same offense, holding that it was the same "drunk" for which he was fined the day before. The judge was lenient with the offender. I desire my congregation not to be too hard on me. This is not a new speech, but the same trespass of the forenoon on your patience, and you have no right to blame me twice for the same offense.

In coming before you this afternoon to finish the address of the morning, permit me to correct what might be misapprehended logic of the subject, "High License Wrong in Principle." Some one may say, If high license is wrong in principle, therefore low license is justifiable. The point I desire to impress upon you is, that *all license of evil is wrong in principle*. The right or wrong of a principle is not defined by

its "market price." It is as damnable for the people to barter away Christian principle for a "high" price as it was for Judas to sell for a low price the Master who gave us Christian principle. I say again and again that the heinousness of our depravity over that of those who sold and bought Him is seen in the fact of his sensitive conscience, that, when he saw he had betrayed innocent blood, went and hanged himself. In our day, for an increased money consideration, voters repeat his sin at the ballot-box annually. When the money was returned to the purchasers, they said, "It is not lawful to put it into the treasury, for it is the price of blood," and bought a grave-yard with it. No one thing has made a grave-yard more necessary than the liquor curse. Infamously wicked as it was for the religious teachers of the people to secure the purchase of the person of the Son of God for the self-same purpose of destruction, they had not stooped to the infamy of permitting the revenue from blood to become an integral part of the financial system of their Church and Government. This sentiment is strong meat, and I must frequently set it before you, that you may eat it and inwardly digest. All license for revenue is wrong in God's sight, and all license without revenue is also wrong,—all license of evil is wrong.

Again: none will deny the fact that civilized government has its foundation in Christian law. I might read you proof after proof of this; but I assume that the intelligence of this audience anticipi-

pates the proof. If this be true, it logically follows that it is impolitic in administrations to depart from this precedent. It can not be done without confusion in the social fabric.

High license, low license, *all* license, is wrong in principle — morally wrong. Anything is morally wrong when it comes in conflict with, or under the ban of, the moral law. In reference to the license system, and to the license system for revenue, God says, Prov. xv, 6: “In the house [in power] of the *righteous* is much treasure; but in the *revenues of the wicked* is trouble;” Prov. xvi, 8: “Better is a little with *righteousness*, *than great revenues* [the highest conceivable license] *without right*;” Jer. xii, 13: “They have sown wheat, but shall reap thorns; they have put themselves to pain, but shall not profit; and they shall be *ashamed of your revenues* because of the fierce anger of the Lord;” Isa. x, 1, 2: “Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and write grievousness [license ordinances for sin, proclaiming and posting them] which they have *prescribed*,” (passed by the City Council); Jer. xxii, 13: “Woe unto him that *buildeth his house* [of rule] *by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong*; *that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not his work*;” Hab. ii, 12: “Woe unto him that buildeth a town with blood, and establisheth a city with iniquity.” Thus it is plainly stated that the Word of God condemns the policy of attempting prosperity based upon a wrong principle.

In laying the foundations of righteous government God says, Ex. xviii, 21: "Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people *able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating COVETOUSNESS; and place such over them, to be rulers* of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." Here is specific reference to qualifications for office from the lowest to the highest, and the prohibiting clause relates to "covetousness," which is, by God himself, a mark of disqualification for office of any kind. Read also Psalms x, 3-11,—the saloon-keeper's photograph, the description of men favorable to the reign of the saloon, from whom the psalmist prays that we may be delivered.

Some people are blindfolded with the idea that license is regulation. License is permission, and not restriction. The question is not *regulation*, but *prohibition*.

But it is said: "Prohibition will not prohibit." Neither does high license prohibit; nor does high license regulate. The enforcement of high license consists in *collecting the fee, but not in regulating the traffic*. Topeka, Kansas, the great capital of a great State, is under prohibition, and not a saloon anywhere within its limits. Its churches, schools, public buildings, sidewalks, streets, character and intelligence of its people and their general interests, will compare favorably with any city of like size in America. Yet they do not depend on the revenue of the saloon for this happy state of things. The public spirit of Topeka runs high. Messrs. Fall & O'Donald, of Topeka,

issue a pamphlet reflecting the sentiment of the business men of that city. It says:

"On December 31, 1886, there were 898 convicts in the penitentiary, besides Government prisoners; on December 31, 1887, there were 900 convicts in the penitentiary—only a gain of two over the previous year, notwithstanding the fact that the population of the State had increased at least 100,000. On August 17, 1888, there were in the penitentiary 845 convicts, an actual decrease in the number, in seven and a half months, of 46, and it is reported that at this date there are 96 persons less in the penitentiary than one year ago.

"A great many comparisons might be made to show the advantages of the [prohibitory] law; but time and space will not permit, and we simply give these few brief facts to show our readers where it benefits us, not only in the State Government, but as a community, in the saving of money, the establishing of homes, increasing of manufactories, and the advancement of agriculture, etc.

"Many of the county jails of the State are now empty, and there are no criminal cases upon the dockets of the courts. Shawnee County, the most populous in the State—having within its borders our beautiful capital city, Topeka, with a population of 50,000—has not a criminal case on the court calendar.

"The history and growth of Kansas is the history and growth of her capital city."

Springfield, Ill., the capital city, has also about fifty thousand people. Apart from its being the location of the capital and the tomb of the great and martyred Lincoln, with its three hundred saloons under high license, compared with Topeka, Kansas, it sinks into insignificance. High-license Springfield, with its fifty thousand people, does neither prohibit nor "reg-
1

ulate." In October the year following the advent of high license in Illinois, the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, probably as reliable authority for high license as we have, said of Chicago:

"The city is to be congratulated for one thing at least in raising the price of saloon licenses, and that is the vast increase of revenue gained. It was predicted that the number of saloons would be greatly decreased; but when the 'first period' of the present fiscal year was passed, it was found that there were a hundred more saloons than last year. The second period licenses went very slowly at first, and it required a deal of exertion by the police to get the saloon-keepers to pay up. For about six weeks there were over 100 unlicensed saloons running openly in the city; but these have all paid up, and to-day there are a dozen more licensed saloons than at any time during the first period. Three new saloons were opened yesterday, and hardly a day passes but what new places are started. *From this showing it does not look as if the \$500 license would have a tendency to kill off even the smaller places.*"

Perhaps I should say that, for all this showing, the party the *Inter-Ocean* represents favors high license.

It is well for us, in this address, to profit from what our enemy, the liquor-traffic, has to say about the kind of "prohibition" and "regulation" we have under high license. The *Brewers' Journal* says: "Iowa, Kansas, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont show a decreased production during 1887 and 1888 of 78,589 barrels of beer, while the high-license States of Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, and Michigan show an increased production of 253,114 barrels." The

statistics from the Western Brewers' Annual Official Trade Statistics give the following number of barrels of beer sold :

	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.
Illinois, . . .	1,144,996	1,204,092	1,317,233	1,608,362
Nebraska, . .	60,235	69,290	84,833	108,756
Missouri, . .	1,139,101	1,136,401	1,176,882	1,387,920

Democratic Missouri, with the lowest license of the three, shows the smallest ratio of increase, while Republican Nebraska, with the highest license, shows the greatest ratio of increase.

The following account is reliable :

“LIQUOR CRIME IN MASSACHUSETTS.—The annual report of the prison commissioners for 1889 states: ‘During the year there was committed to jails, for all offenses, a total of 3,697; to houses of correction, 15,006; to Boston house of industry, 14,226; State farm, 294; to reformatory prison for women, 206; Massachusetts reformatory, 532; State prison, 133; a total of 34,095, and an increase of 3,411 over last year. The whole number of arrests was 83,116 or 6,872 more than last year.’ What a curse the liquor system is to the country !”

Some incidental testimony is admissible at this point. The *Lever* says :

“In a town of 1,500 inhabitants in Pennsylvania which licenses the drink-traffic, the Police Court record for July 5, 1885, shows that twelve men were fined an aggregate of \$321 and twenty-three days in jail. In Topeka, Kansas, a town of 50,000 inhabitants, where prohibition prevails, the Police Court record for the same day shows that four men were fined in the aggregate \$23, with no imprisonments. Is license or prohibition better ?”

Colonel Schuster, the editor of *The Champion*, a wine and beer paper in Chicago, says:

"We hear from certain sources that since the respective \$500 and \$1,000 license law has gone into effect, at least one-half of the saloon-keepers of Minnesota have gone out of business. This can be of little comfort to the Prohibitionists since it is also in evidence that there is just as much beer, wine, and whisky consumed to-day in Minnesota under high license in the remaining half of the saloons as formerly under low license."

The superintendent of Peter Doelger's New York Brewery says:

"Of course high license would shut up some of the saloons; but then *just as much liquor would be drank*, and I don't see how it would hurt the brewers. Of course, you understand, I'm not speaking for the boss now; but, between you and me, I ask who's going to be hurt *when a brewer has to deliver to only fifty saloons the same amount of beer he used to send to a hundred?*"

The following is an account of how they work high license in a town up in Minnesota:

"When the new high-license law was passed by the Minnesota Legislature, the saloon-keepers of Vermillion, Dakota County, vowed they would close up their saloons before they would pay \$500 license. The contemptible and hypocritical village authorities, under the plea that farmers would go to other towns with their wheat if beer could not be obtained in Vermillion, swore in the saloon-keepers as special policemen and fixed their salaries at \$400 a year each. The saloon-keepers then took out their licenses at \$500 each. In this way the village of Vermillion

is forced to pay four-fifths of the license fee of its murder-mills."

Should there not be a dominating Christian conscience in this matter, that has at least, even if it has lost its grip of faith in God, courage that, at a venture, can trust this whole matter to principle, and make the venture? I do not believe this is possible, and at the same time lose sight of God; but if you think otherwise, try it.

There is yet fresh in the memory of the older people in Southern Illinois the conscientiousness of old "Father and Mother Moore," who settled in St. Clair County, that State, in an early day. They were the parents of Hon. J. H. Moore, who served two terms in Congress and subsequently as United States Minister to Peru. They were told that if, in the fall time, they did not get a gallon of whisky for bitters, and take it regularly, they would have the ague. They secured the needed (?) liquor. But a serious problem met them squarely (for they were the faithful old-time people that observed daily prayers): "Which shall we do first, have prayers and then drink the whisky, or drink the whisky and then say prayers?" They were not aware of the force of that proposition until it met them. It first met them in the morning, and, not being able to settle it, said their prayers and put the other off till evening, giving more time for thoughtful meditation. Evening came, and they were no nearer the solution of their duty than before, and said their prayers and slept soundly. The next morning and evening came and went, and yet the

query was not answered. This kept on until the "ague season" passed, and everybody had the "shakes," and Father and Mother Moore did not have a chill. What a splendid perfection of conscience this would be to exercise its power on election-day! Then the Christian brother might ask: "Which is the right thing to do—to vote the whisky ticket and say my prayers, or first say my prayers and then vote the liquor-scented ticket?" But under present enlightenment the problem does not confuse.

But possibly the last subtle idea that the politician presents is, that prohibition increases taxation, and that revenue from liquor, as a permanent resource, will relieve him of "direct taxation," the tax being paid by the consumer. The following table is reliable. The *Daily Call* has prepared it, as showing the tax rate in the cities of Lincoln, Topeka, and Des Moines for the same period:

Year.	Lincoln.	Topeka.	Des Moines.
1880, . . . .	.32 $\frac{1}{2}$	.29 $\frac{1}{4}$	.27
1881, . . . .	.32 $\frac{1}{2}$	.28	.25
1882, . . . .	.32 $\frac{1}{2}$	.26 $\frac{1}{4}$	.18
1883, . . . .	.29 $\frac{1}{4}$	.26	.27 $\frac{1}{2}$
1884, . . . .	.18	.26	.24 $\frac{1}{2}$
1885, . . . .	.21 $\frac{1}{2}$	.24	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$
1886, . . . .	.30	.24	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$
1887, . . . .	.30	.26 11-20	.18 $\frac{1}{2}$
1888, . . . .	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	.29 7-20	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$
1889, . . . .	.48 $\frac{1}{2}$	.29 3-10	.25 1.10
	<hr/> 313 $\frac{1}{2}$	<hr/> 260 19-20	<hr/> 233 7-20

These figures are a complete refutation of the declaration that prohibition increases taxation.

Avarice, the “god of this world, hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.” Let us gently remove that blindfold. Now, I could not, if I should try, give a better illustration of a point in mind than that given in a communication to the *Voice* by a correspondent, D. S. P., of Findlay, Ohio, in 1889.

“This city, Findlay, O., has a population of about 25,000, and some ninety saloons, paying an annual tax fee of \$250 each. Let us see, by actual figures, what high license would do for Findlay.

“Admitting all that the high-license advocates claim for this method of dealing with the liquor-traffic—that it will greatly lessen the number of saloons—let us put the annual license fee at \$1,000—that paid by the saloons in Omaha, Neb.—and study the problem from this basis.

“A \$1,000 annual license fee in Findlay would, according to the advocates of high license, close two-thirds of our ninety saloons, leaving us but thirty to do business for 25,000 population, which they could easily do by enlarging their bar-rooms somewhat and employing extra help.

“Now, the thirty saloons that remain sell the liquor and do the business of the former ninety. Let us add the following items of extra expense, which each of these thirty saloons will have to undergo in order to meet its increased trade :

Additional rental for extra space,	\$250
Additional bar help during year,	650
Additional license fee of	750
Other additional incidental expenses,	100
 Total additional expense, each saloon, . .	<hr/> \$1,750

“This additional expense of \$1,750 for each of thirty high-license saloons, means an additional expense of \$52,500 to the liquor-traffic under high license.

“But what has the traffic saved by concentration and monopoly?

Sixty saloons closed at annual rental \$500 each,	\$30,000
Two bar-tenders, each at \$500,	60,000
License fee \$250 each,	15,000
Incidental expenses, say \$300 each,	18,000

Total saved to traffic in closing sixty saloons, . \$123,000

“Putting the annual average profit above expenses of each of these saloons at \$800, and adding this amount to the \$123,000 saved in expenses, makes a total of \$171,000 saved to the liquor-traffic as the result of the high-license experiment. This is the amount which the thirty saloons will receive if they do the business formerly done by the ninety, with which to meet their additional expenses of \$52,500. The result is obvious—a total annual saving to the liquor-traffic in Findlay of over \$100,000.

“Like all monopolies, this high-license liquor monopoly will be a power in the land, and with the \$2,000 saved each week in expenses, it will easily have all the spare cash necessary to purchase the publication in our daily and weekly papers of articles favorable to the liquor-traffic and monopoly and to buy the exclusion of facts injurious to the business. The politicians will be easily controlled by ready cash as well as votes.

“Surely the saloons can agree with Peter E. Iler, the great Omaha distiller, that high license is ‘the grandest law for the liquor-traffic.’ Let temperance people study this subject as the long-headed liquor men have studied it, and they can not fail to see the absurdity of high license as a remedy for the liquor evil.”

Truly, this whole system of revenue from wrong is a bid for the purchasable conscience of the Nation. Rum revenue for education is only one proposition. "Black Jack" was the author of the bill that publicly announced the proposition, and the "Plumed Knight" was the champion appearing in its advocacy in *The Press*, of Philadelphia, two years before the nomination of the "Knight" at the head and the "Jack" at the tail of a National ticket. In "braying" the National Congress to adopt the measure, in effect he said that it was not strictly in accord with Christian principle; but when the people saw the benefits accruing from it, the Christian conscience of the country would adjust itself to the same, and, to illustrate the point, said: "A colored preacher once solicited a subscription to build a church. A man on the street gave him \$20. He thanked the gentleman and went on his way rejoicing. He was called back, and the gentleman asked: 'Did you know how I obtained that twenty-dollar bill that I gave you to aid in your church-building?' 'No, sir,' said the colored brother. 'Well, sir,' said the man, 'I just awhile ago won it by gambling.' The preacher responded:

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform."

So would Messrs. Blaine and Logan, in 1882, have us understand that if the institutions of this country would be suffered by the people to be built up by constituting the liquor-traffic a "permanent resource of revenue," with Christian complacency they would

give God the glory for the devil's agency for good, and under the reign of this system men of morality could devoutly sing in Church :

“God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform.”

But this making the liquor-traffic a source of revenue, and applying it as a means to relieve from the burdens of direct taxation, has not proven an economical policy. Indiana has tried it in her public-school system; but it takes out of the pockets of tax-payers many thousand dollars more than it pays in. This I have shown you. This concerning Boston :

“Boston boasts a population of 363,000. The saloon ratio is 1 to every 125; arrests, 1 to 12½; court expenses, \$2,324,860; license revenue, \$500,000. That is to say, for every one dollar of revenue about four dollars expense. Boston can stand a little more intelligence yet.”

And this from the *Leader* :

“The town of Hartington, Neb., licensed two saloons the last year, getting therefor \$1,000. The saloons have prepared three young men for the penitentiary during the last six months; the county has to pay over \$1,000 to prosecute and convict them. The village school fund gets the saloon fee, \$1,000, and asks the county, which gets nothing, to pay a like amount to take care of the saloon victims, and the State is asked to pay the cost of boarding, clothing, and watching the saloon-made criminals. It pays, does n't it?”

Mrs. Clara Hoofman, president of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Missouri, says :

“The vast majority of criminal cases in all the courts of the land may be traced to the saloon. Does the revenue from the saloon, even under high license, meet this expense? In city, county, and State it is found to be wholly insufficient. A few years ago, in a newly-organized county of Dakota, the citizens of its only town decided to high-license its few saloons in the interest of internal improvements—not internal to the citizens, but sidewalks, lamp-posts, etc. The aggregate revenue thus derived was \$1,500. *Within one year two murders were committed in these saloons. The trial footed up \$4,385*; but they had the \$1,500 with which to meet expenses. Into the money calculations do not enter the demoralization of society, the pauperism and orphanage entailed. Since 1880 the claims of high license have been set forth, and numerous experiments along this line have been made.

“What is the result in regard to crime? In 1882 we had 1,266 murders; in 1884, 3,377; while from 1884 to 1886 the increase of crime was still greater in proportion to the population than in the two preceding years.”

What is \$90,000,000 in the National treasury compared to the \$900,000,000 paid by the people to make that revenue possible? And yet the people have *worse than nothing* to show for it.

Chicago obtains over \$2,000,000 revenue from license. But to make it possible, the people must spend in the saloons of that city \$28,000,000 annually, and have *worse than nothing* to show for it. Pardon me for insisting on a repetition of these illustrations; for it should be kept before the people that the policy of revenue from the liquor-traffic for the purpose of lift-

ing the burden of direct taxation from the shoulders of tax-payers is both a deceit and fraud.

Here is a good illustration on a smaller scale from a comparative stand-point:

<i>Vineland, N. J., Prohibition one year.</i>	<i>New Britain, Conn., under License one year. Population nearly the same.</i>
Grog-shops, 00	Grog-shops, 80
Cost of paupers, \$224	Cost of paupers, \$8,500
Cost of police, \$75	Cost of police, \$7,500
Liquor sold, 00	Liquor sold, \$319,000
Habitual drunkards, . . . 27	Habitual drunkards, . . . 497

A volume of pages might be given to prove our point. Now, my friends, just how long, at this rate, will it take the liquor-traffic to lift the burden of direct taxation from our shoulders? Just as long as it would take a boy to get out of a pit into which he had fallen, by climbing one step up and slipping from four to seven steps back. Is not the proposition that your conscience is sufficiently elastic to adjust itself to this deceitful revenue policy an insult to your better nature? It ought to be. "Revenue" is the Satanic opiate by which weak consciences are lulled to sleep when sin clamors for ascendancy.

Do you recollect that old poem that so fitly illustrates this:

"A youngster at school, more sedate than the rest,
Had once his integrity put to the test:—
His comrades had planned an orchard to rob,
And asked him to go and assist in the job.

He was shocked, sir, like you, and answered, 'O no!
What, rob our good neighbor! I pray you do n't go.
Besides, the man's poor; his orchard's his bread;
Then think of his children, for they must be fed.'

'You speak very fine and you look very grave;
 But apples we want, and apples we 'll have.
 If you will go with us you shall have a share;
 If not, you shall have neither apple nor pear.'

They spoke—and Tom pondered: 'I see they will go.
 Poor man! what a pity to injure him so!
 Poor man! I would save him his fruit if I could,
 But staying behind will do him no good.'

If the matter depended alone upon me,
 His apples might hang till they dropped from the tree;
 But since they will take them, I think I 'll go too;
 He will lose none by me, though I get a few.'

His scruples thus silenced, Tom felt more at ease,
 And went with his comrades the apples to seize;
 He *flamed* and *protested*, but joined in the plan;
He shared in the plunder, but pitied the man!'

The application of this principle to the question in hand is left to the enlightened reason and conscience of the hearer. But aside from conscience in this matter, looking at it again and again through secular eyes, what is the testimony of great financiers?

Hon. W. E. Gladstone says: "You may talk about revenue and about the traffic and usages of society as you please, but give me thirty millions of sober people in England, and I am not afraid for the revenue of the public works in the British Empire." This was said in reply to liquor-dealers of England, who were clamoring to pay revenue rather than stop their work. A solemn question that presented by inspiration (Psalm xciv, 20): "*Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, that FRAMETH MISCHIEF BY LAW?*" A politician whose party was committed to the liquor interests, said to me, in the course of a conversation on this subject: "Please tell me just

how many have perished from the presence of the saloon in this city." As a politician he seemed to have but little knowledge of the heinousness of its work in twelve months in any average liquor town. He had taken no account of it whatever. I said: "Suppose but *one* soul had perished, and that a son of a poor and obscure widow, it is one too many, and you become guilty of blood. A full treasury can not atone for one drop of innocent blood or a single tear occasioned by the traffic in liquor. Infinitely better is '*a little with righteousness.*'"

This question grows in importance as we examine it in the light of the labor problem.

When P. M. Arthur was asked as to his opinion regarding the improvement of the condition of the poor, he is reported as saying:

"The way to start, I think, is to shut up the saloon the first thing. I have advocated this idea for twenty-six years, and think it is the only way to go about it. You can go to any of these little corner groggeries and see the workingmen sitting around and spending over one-half their earnings, while if they would refuse to support such places their condition would be infinitely bettered. If it were not for the saloons, do you know, I think that seven-tenths of the workingmen would have their own homes instead of paying rent. Rum is at the bottom of the whole trouble."

I have before me the account of a Rhode Island factory, where the employer paid his employees, Saturday night, \$700 in new bills with a private mark on each bill. On the following Monday \$400

of these marked bills were deposited in the bank by the saloon-keepers of the town. What did these laboring men have to show for the investment of four dollars out of seven in drink? *Worse than nothing.*

Another case of this kind is reported from the West: J. A. Duckroff, a heavy contractor of Lincoln, Nebraska, says: "My monthly pay-roll is not less than \$30,000; I pay every Saturday night, and from 30 to 40 per cent of my checks come back to me indorsed by saloon-keepers."

See how prison labor competes with the honest toiler through the agency of the grog-shop! Says Hon. Jacob Reese, himself interested in an extensive rolling-mill in Pittsburg:

"If the corn that is now made into whisky were turned into pork and beef, the laboring men could buy these luxuries at least 25 per cent cheaper than they are now paying. Thirty years ago we employed four hundred coopers on oil-barrels in Pittsburg. Many of these, through drinking, were sent to the work-house. In a short time, enough were there to justify the work-house in bidding for the oil-barrel trade at a figure that entirely broke up the shops, and hundreds of skilled coopers had to leave Pittsburg through the competition thus made, little thinking that it was liquor that drove them from their homes in this indirect way. Twenty years ago we had one thousand two hundred men employed in small shops on edged tools and forks. Through the use of drink a large number of these skilled workmen were sent to the penitentiary. The penitentiary managers utilized these skilled men, and soon began the making of such goods and competing in the market with the workmen outside. These one thousand two hundred

were soon thrown out of employment. It was liquor that did it."

One of our religious journals furnishes me with this very interesting item:

"Over in Baltimore, says Rev. Sam Small, I stood on the steps of a hotel and saw eighteen thousand workingmen on Labor-day marching through the streets—many of them in worn-out shoes and tattered clothes; and the whole concern was marshaled by liquor-dealers riding on horses which the liquor-dealers owned—and which the fellows on foot had bought. In Chicago I saw another marching body of eighteen thousand workingmen, carrying a banner inscribed, 'Our children cry for bread!' and they marched straight to a picnic-ground and drank one thousand four hundred kegs of beer."

Those familiar and keeping pace with the columns of the Chicago *Daily News* will recognize the following, from the pen of a writer for that paper, on the claim that the liquor-traffic benefits labor:

"Assuming that, under prohibition, the liquor capital will be invested in other manufacturing industries, and giving it the benefit of an indiscriminate investment therein, the result will be an employment of three to nine times as much labor as this same capital now employs. In other words, if the \$1,848,490 now used at Baltimore in making liquor, and employing only 301 men, will, under prohibition, when indiscriminately invested in other manufacturing industries, furnish a living support to 2,822 men, it is time this fact were generally known."

He bases his assertion on the following table, the data for which were obtained from pages 1030 to 1097 of Volume II of the "United States Com-

pendium of the Tenth Census—1880,” except the figures for Kansas City, which are taken from pages 35 and 36 of the report of the Merchants and Manufacturers’ Bureau of that city for 1887:

CITIES.	RATIO OF EMPLOYEES TO CAPITAL INVESTED.	
	In Manufactures other than liquor.	In the Manufacture of liquor.
Baltimore,	1 to \$650	1 to \$6,141
Kansas City,	1 to 770	1 to 5,750
Milwaukee,	1 to 700	1 to 4,598
Philadelphia,	1 to 966	1 to 6,076
Cleveland,	1 to 837	1 to 4,156
New York,	1 to 738	1 to 3,588
Cincinnati,	1 to 811	1 to 3,640
Detroit,	1 to 910	1 to 3,964
Washington,	1 to 754	1 to 3,254
Boston,	1 to 760	1 to 2,859
Buffalo,	1 to 1,360	1 to 5,042
Chicago,	1 to 817	1 to 2,904
Jersey City,	1 to 1,044	1 to 3,529

The liquor-traffic makes a special point in justification of the traffic by calling attention to the number of men employed. Can any man name a manufacturing business with as much capital invested that employs as few men as does this same liquor-traffic?

Hear these faithful words of Mr. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of Knights of Labor. He said in his Boston speech:

“Now, a word about the great curse of the laboring man—strong drink. Had I ten million tongues, and a throat for each tongue, I would say to each man, woman, and child here to-night: ‘Throw strong drink aside as you would an ounce of liquid hell.’ It

sears the conscience, it destroys everything it touches; it reaches into the family circle, and takes the wife you have sworn to protect, and drags her down from her pinnacle of purity into that house from which no decent woman goes alive. It induces the father to take the furniture from his house, exchange it for money at the pawn-shop, and spend the proceeds in rum. It damns everything it touches. I have seen it in every city east of the Mississippi, and I know that the most damning curse to the laborer is that which gurgles from the neck of the bottle. I would rather be at the head of an organization having one hundred thousand temperate, honest, earnest men, than at the head of an organization of twelve million drinkers, whether moderate or any other kind."

Liquor is the great competitor of labor. An editor of a political paper says: "The legislator or prison reformer who will contrive a plan by which prisons shall be self-supporting, without their labor being made to underbid and depress the wages of labor outside, will entitle himself to the very highest position in the counsels of reform." Without aspiration to such distinction, my friends, I think the question this editor suggests is one of easy solution. I am sometimes asked on the subject of prohibiting prison competition with honest toil: "What will you do with the thousands of convicts in our prisons? Would you have them live in idleness and die, more the result of the torture of nothing-to-do than all else? Mark you, the editor "deals with the evils resulting from" crime more than with the fountain or cause of it. *Let this Government go out of the business of protecting criminals, and the question of eighty-seven per cent*

this prison competition will be disposed of. This per cent is chargeable to the liquor-traffic. Shut off the liquor-traffic. We can then easily dispose of the remaining thirteen per cent, without serious hurt to outside toil.

But I was speaking of the fact that license is wrong in principle. Its genesis in our Nation is an interesting study. In this we have its Alpha. But in its intent we have its Omega; namely, the fastening forever upon the body politic the iron grip of the liquor-traffic. This is its trend. By its fruit ye shall know it. It brings to the front an apparent benefit, and thus deceiving the people, it conceals behind the deceit all the mischief possible to hellish inventiveness.

A confidential letter, written by Mr. J. M. Atherton, chairman of the Liquor-dealers' National Protective Association, to E. A. Fox, Esq., Eaton Rapids, Mich., was made public by the *New York Voice*. It shows the real inwardness of the traffic in politics. The logic of it is not that high license is a step to, but a preventive of, prohibition. High license is accepted until prohibition can be got out of the way, and then immediate steps will be taken to get high license also out of the way—indeed all license out of the way. Very well; let this state of the case come, and then the barrier between the people and the traffic will be broken down, and a long outraged people will have a direct opportunity for the demolition of this enemy.

But the following is the letter as published:

"Brands of Fine Kentucky Whiskies, THE J. M. ATHERTON COMPANY,
'Atherton,' 'Mayfield,' LOUISVILLE, KY., March 2, 1889.
'Clifton,' 'Windsor.'

"E. A. Fox, Esq., Eaton Rapids, Mich.:

"*Dear Sir,—Your letter has been on my desk for some time without reply, because of my absence most of the time from the city. The two most effective weapons with which to fight prohibition are high license and local option. The difficulty is that the remedy is almost as bad as the disease. High license is a vague, indefinite term, and is variously construed in different localities. I think \$500 entirely too high, and a very unjust tax upon the liquor-trade. Two hundred and fifty dollars is as much tax as the ordinary retail liquor-dealer can afford to pay and sell anything like old whisky or pure liquors, however cheaply he may buy them. The true policy for the trade to pursue is to advocate as high a license as they can, in justice to themselves, afford to pay, because the money thus raised tends to relieve all owners of property from taxation, and keeps the treasuries of the towns and cities pretty well filled. THIS CATCHES THE ORDINARY TAX-PAYER, who cares less for the sentimental opposition to our business than he does for taxes on his own property. The point is to prevent the gross imposition in the way of excessive and exorbitant taxation, under the name of high license. Local option is local prohibition; but the experience is that there is always enough license counties mixed in with the no-license counties to practically supply the latter with all the liquor they need.*

"*I think local option is less objectionable in its practical operations than the extreme high license. Sooner or later the trade may be able to defeat the local-option feature; BUT UNTIL PROHIBITION IS DESTROYED, OR ITS POLITICAL EFFORTS BROKEN, I REPEAT THAT*

OUR BEST WEAPONS TO FIGHT IT WITH ARE HIGH LICENSE AND LOCAL OPTION BY TOWNSHIPS. *If local option can be defeated, without encouraging prohibition, it should be done.* These are my views in a general way. Of course each locality and State has its peculiarities, and must modify its views to such existing conditions; but I think the suggestion I have herein given you are sound.

"You will please pardon me for the neglect or courtesy in delaying this reply, but my absence from the city most of the time is the reason. Would be glad to give you any information or give any suggestions at any time. With kind regards,

"Yours truly, J. M. AETHERTON."

My friends, you have a deceitful foe to deal with. The cry of "Revenue!" is the last ditch of the monster. It really approximates the heinousness of the insincerity of Judas when he charged against a grateful person the guilt of waste when the ointment was not sold and proceeds of the same given to the poor. His was also a hypocritical pretense to philanthropy. Even if the traffic and its upholders would, as the crucifiers of Christ, buy grave-yards with the revenue of this "blood-money," it would be a better and more appropriate use than to give it honorable place in the treasury of Church and State. No, my hearers, there is no place in all the economy of the divinely appointed institutions of Church and State where we can "justify the wicked for reward" (revenue), and the woe of the Almighty is pronounced against the attempt.

Mrs. McVean makes a good appeal :

“Come, let us reason ; heed what we say ;
Our hands are willing, and strong to earn.
There is no price that we will not pay.
Is there no gold that will serve your turn,
Save the shining gold of the heads that rest
Soft on a gentle mother’s breast ?
Must they go down in the shameful dust ?
How long will your votes shout back, ‘They must ?’

Here is our beautiful, gifted son,
Kept safe till the day he is twenty-one ;
The fiends may clutch him upon that day.
What can we say ?

We have our pay.
Pave with his blood the broad highway.
Ah ! Heaven ! can it be such things are done
Under the sun ?

Come to the licensed dealer now :—
We shall be met with a smiling bow ;
He is all ready for our call.

With a wave of the hand,
Polite and bland,
Toward his framed diploma upon the wall,
He will give us mothers to understand
Our boys are his—he has bought them all.
But I think if mothers could have control,
They could pave to-day
The broad highway
With something not so white as the soul
Of an innocent boy at play.

Even the ground
Sends up a sound ;
The echoing clods on the coffin-lid
Where our dead away from our sight are hid.
Not to make note of the orphans’ wails,
Or the faces under the widows’ veils,
Every three minutes some man falls ;
Yet you hang the license upon the walls !

No matter how we may writhe and moan,
You will not let our treasures alone ;
There is not enough of wood or stone,

Or I think you would pave the business street
With something harder than mothers' hearts
That cry out under the hurrying feet,
And under the heavy brewers' carts;
For though they are crushed, they still must beat
In deathless mother-love, fierce and sweet.

Peace lies murdered. There is no bliss.
Fear strikes cold through a baby's kiss.
Has God forgotten the world like this?"

May God grant that, deep down in the heart of
the people, may be deeply rooted the word of our
God: "*Better is a little with righteousness than great
revenues [the highest imaginable license] without right!*"
God grant us to reflect upon this as upon every other
subject with which we have to do, the conscience of
Him whom we love and whom we serve!

LECTURE IV.

“PROTECTION” THAT DOES NOT PROTECT.

A LECTURE ON TARIFF.

MR. CHAIRMAN—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

“Render to Cesar the things that are Cesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.” The history of tariff carries us back to ancient years. In very olden times it was free trade in the useful commodities, more by way of exchange of articles of utility. Indeed, this principle applied to luxuries as well. Solomon, in dealing with Hiram, king of Tyre, set the precedent of exchanging the products of the soil for lumber, and it is presumable that, at both ends of the transaction, all articles were free from “duty.”

We had a political school in Christ’s day that held that it was treason not to observe the “tariff” law. The G. O. P. of Scribe and Pharisee, who boasted that they had *Abraham* to their father, and held that their past record entitled them to consideration, whether or not they possessed the virtue of that record, laid down a precedent which happened to fall on the shoulders of Christ:

“Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. And they sent out unto him their disciples, with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any

man: for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cesar, or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Show me the tribute-money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto him, Cesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Cesar the things which are Cesar's; and unto God the things that are God's. When they had heard these words, they marveled, and left him, and went their way." (Matt. xxii, 15-22.)

Before this effort to catch him on the tariff hook, Christ was eyed very closely upon this subject by those who looked after the "duties" to be paid into the national treasury. This account is an incidental illustration of this statement:

"And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute-money came to Peter, and said, Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith, Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up: and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and thee." (Matt. xvii, 24-27.)

And so intent was the dominant party upon this tariff question, that when they thrust him into the

judgment-hall, compassing his crucifixion, they made a false charge against him to the effect that he was guilty of holding and teaching treasonable doctrine concerning tariff. This is the statement of the case:

“And the whole multitude of them arose, and led him unto Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cesar, saying that he himself is Christ, a king.” (Luke xxiii, 1, 2.)

It seemed the original purpose of tariff was the support of the civil arm. Relating to this, and the importance of the same as seemingly the human agency of making practical the divine plan, the apostle says:

“Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. *For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor.*” (Romans xiii, 1-7.)

It is incidentally taught by Paul that this "custom," or "tariff," was not on the commodities of life, but upon the individual—the "stranger," or "emigrant," or "alien." Thus the language of Christ: "Then are the children free." How does the modern doctrine of "protection" compare with this? When "consumers" pay the tariff of "industries" (monopolies), it can not be said, "Then are the children [the native citizen of the country] free." Christ asks: "Of whom do the kings of the earth take tribute?" It seems that custom tribute was a prevailing law among "the kings of the earth." But, "Of whom do they take this custom or tribute, of children [the citizenship of the country], or of strangers?" The custom was laid upon the *person*, or *stranger*. Aside from this tax upon the person, his trade was free by way of exchange of commodities, which were taken and disposed of by traffic at home in the coin of the country. This exchange did not bar out trade by purchase, if it could be so under the financial system, but ordinarily there was not the international monetary system we have in our age; but if so, to an almost imperceptible extent I believe it was an established custom of olden times that if a stranger desired the honors and emoluments of a country, he was in duty bound to pay for it. In our day and country, if labor were thus protected, it would go far to solve the problem between monopoly and labor. In substance, one of the greatest reasoners on political subjects puts it in this way, that the horse which the blacksmith shoes, the hammer that drives the nail,

the nail that is driven, the shoe that the nail fastens to the hoof, the leather of which the halter is made, the shoes on the man's feet, the pants and shirt on the man's body, and the hat on his head, are all "protected;" but the arm that swings the hammer has no protection. I am a free-trader in all needful commodities, for tax on luxuries, and *protection on labor.*

At Frankfort, Ind., September 12, 1889, Mr. St. John said:

"I take the position that our whole tariff system is wrong in principle, because it imposes its duties upon what we consume instead of upon what we possess, thus making the common day-laborer bear as great a financial burden upon the necessities of life, which rich and poor alike are compelled to have, as is placed upon the millionaire.

"To illustrate: A laboring man, at sundown, takes the dollar he has received for his day's work, and buys ten pounds of sugar. The tariff on that sugar is three cents per pound, amounting to thirty cents, or nearly one-third of his day's wages. The railway or bank president, who gets a salary of ten to twenty thousand dollars a year, buys at the same time, place, price, quality and amount of sugar, and bears the same tariff burden and no more.

"Now, the primary object of tariff, under our National Constitution, is to raise a revenue to support the Government. It is true a tariff may be levied for other purposes, but to support the Government is the primary object. So, it will be seen that, under our present system, the poor are compelled to carry the same financial load to support the Government as is placed upon the rich. Any system that does

this is wrong in principle, and ought to be, and I believe when it is fully and fairly understood will be condemned by the people. Suppose a farmer has five sons, aged respectively nine, twelve, fifteen, eighteen, and twenty-one years. He desires them to carry five hundred pounds. If he is a just father, he will distribute their burdens, so that each will bear a load in proportion to his physical strength. He will place 165 pounds on the broad-shouldered twenty-one-year-old man, 135 pounds on the stout eighteen-year-old boy, 100 pounds on the fifteen-year-old lad, 75 pounds on the twelve, and 25 pounds on the nine-year-old 'kid,' and thus loaded, each one walks off under a burden which he is fully able to carry. Does the tariff do that? No. Then what does it do? Why, it piles a hundred pounds on each of them, and the result is that while the big boys grow and flourish under their load, the little fellows are so bowed down by the weight of theirs that they remain runts all their lives. Again: Two men are neighbors. One has a wife and ten children, and is worth \$1,000. The other has a wife, but no children, and is worth \$100,000. Justice would require this rich man, who is worth one hundred times as much as his poor neighbor, to pay one hundred times more taxes to support the Government. That is the rule you apply here in Indiana in raising revenue to defray the expenses of your State Government; but under our tariff system, the poor man having ten children to warm, feed, and clothe, is forced to contribute ten times more to the support of the General Government than is his rich neighbor.

"But we are told that 'tariff protects labor.' Let us see if it does. A few years ago, I saw at least two thousand strikers, from one of the greatest cotton-mills, march through the principal streets of one of the manufacturing cities of the East. I said to a

friend, who had lived there for many years, 'That is a hard-looking crowd.' He replied, 'They are just as hard as they look.' 'How long,' I asked, 'have you had these labor troubles here?' 'From fifteen to twenty years,' he replied, then paused a moment, and said: 'Twenty-five years ago our operatives were nearly all native-born citizens, and the few foreigners we had were of the best class. As a rule, they were intelligent, sober, and industrious. The majority of them lived in their own cozy little homes. Their children were educated in our common schools. Sabbath usually found them at church and Sunday-school.' 'Where are those people now?' I inquired. 'O,' said he, 'they have moved away.' 'What made them move?' I ventured to ask. To which, after a little thoughtful hesitation, he replied: 'You see, ship-loads of foreigners kept coming in, from time to time, and these new-comers offered to work for a reduction of five or ten cents a day in wages. That meant a saving of from one hundred dollars to three hundred dollars per day in expenses. Rather than suffer this reduction, old employees quit work from time to time, and thus this sifting process—hunting for cheap labor—was kept up until there [pointing toward the strikers] is what we have left;' and as he drew a long breath, he added: 'They are mighty hard to manage!' 'Do they live in the cozy little homes vacated by the operatives of years ago?' I asked. 'No,' said he; 'they occupy those tenement-houses along yonder street. Scarcely one of them owns a home.' 'Have you had protection during all these twenty-five years?' I inquired. 'O yes,' said he, and added: 'The Government has been very kind to us. Congress has given us all the protection we have asked for; our investments have paid well.' 'Then,' I remarked, 'you have had protection for every yard of cloth manufactured. Your capital has been safe all the time, so far as protective tariff

was concerned?' 'Certainly,' said he. 'What protection did the operatives who used to occupy those cozy little homes have?' I next asked. 'O,' said he, 'they moved away.' 'Yes,' I replied, 'but what protection did they have?' 'Why, they did n't stay to be protected,' he ejaculated. 'I think I now understand it,' said I. 'You have had protection during all these years for your capital, and *free trade in labor*.' Hesitating a moment, he replied: 'Yes, I guess that is about the way of it.'

"And, citizens, that has always been 'the way of it,' and always will be until we adopt a system which protects *muscle* as well as *capital*.

DOES IT PROTECT THE FARMER?

"Never in the history of this Nation have farmers' tariff duties and their mortgage indebtedness been greater than they are to-day.

"When I left my home two weeks ago, it required thirty-two pounds of the Kansas farmer's oats to buy one pound of trust sugar, and fifty pounds of shelled corn to get one pound of trust binder-twine; while under the dressed-beef combine fat cattle were selling at about a cent per pound less than the actual cost of production. And I suppose you have a similar condition of things here in Indiana; and yet politicians tell us that the 'farmer is protected.'

"The truth is, the legislation of Congress, for the past twenty-five years, has been in favor of monopolies, combines, and trusts, and against the interests of the common people. When I say 'common people' I mean the masses, whose labor produces the wealth our present system enables a favored few to absorb.

"During the war period, '61 to '65 inclusive, tariff duties averaged only 34 per cent. A direct tax was then levied upon income, not only of well-to-do citizens, but upon corporations. Stamp duties were imposed upon all deeds, bonds, mortgages, and other

written instruments, including bank-checks. This class of special taxation affected the poor people but little, as they had no incomes above exemptions, no interests in corporations, and rarely made deeds, mortgages, bonds, or bank-checks; but they did feel the tariff duties laid upon the necessities of life. But it being 'war times,' they bore their burdens patiently and patriotically, feeling that no sacrifice was too great for an imperiled Union.

"But when the war was over, and the safety of the Nation no longer in jeopardy, the people asked to have these financial burdens lightened. What was the response to their appeal? Why, instead of reducing the tariff duties, which rested so heavily upon the poor, Congress entirely removed the burden of the income tax and stamp duties from the rich, and commenced piling the tariff duties higher and higher, until to-day they equal nearly 48 per cent. In this way a few have been favored at the expense of the many. Under this system, a dozen men have been enabled to accumulate property equaling in value about one one-hundred-and-fiftieth part of the assessed valuation of all the taxable wealth in the Nation, and this moneyed power has gained absolute control of all the available means of transporting the products of the farm to market, thus placing this great agricultural West at the mercy of this greedy power. It matters not how large your crops may be, prices are kept down by these combinations so that the result is about the same—you are just barely allowed to live, and that is all. Never in the history of the world have monopolies, combines, and trusts had such a hold upon the country as they have now. And this condition has been growing upon us, notwithstanding old party promises, freely made from year to year, to give the people something better.

"Millions of the people's money has been with-

drawn from circulation through unnecessary and unjust taxation, and is to-day locked up in the United States Treasury; and, instead of lowering the duties upon food, fuel, and clothing, it is proposed to reduce this surplus by removing the tax from tobacco. You ask:

‘WHAT WOULD YOU DO?’

“I will tell you. If I possessed the power, I would give to the people a world-wide market, in which to trade wherever they could buy the cheapest. ‘There,’ you say, ‘I knew St. John was for free trade.’ Call it free trade if you will, yet I am for greater protection than any Democrat or Republican in the State of Indiana. But I am for protection that does full justice to the poor and no injustice to the rich—a protection which places its burdens on what we *possess* instead of what we *consume*; a protection that equalizes the opportunities of mankind to make a living. To illustrate: Suppose sugar deserves three cents per pound protection. Give it to it; but let it come as a bounty directly from the Government, and the money to foot the bill be raised by a levy upon the taxable wealth of the Nation. The result of this would be that the rich and the poor alike would get their sugar at three cents less per pound; and the millionaires, in and out of the United States Senate, who have been shouting for ‘protective tariff,’ would, when they paid their taxes, discover that the burdens of the tariff had been shifted from what we *consume* to what we *possess*, and the fact would suddenly dawn upon them that our industries are no longer in their ‘infancy,’ having to be nursed like a sick kitten at a hot jamb, and fed on catnip-tea everlastingly.”

This tariff question, like many theological problems, has all the time been surrounded by such an air of profundity, that the average people have been dis-

posed to look upon it as a political *sanctum sanctorum* they dared not enter, and, by a sort of simple-hearted patriotism, have trusted such high and politically holy things to the good (?) and great (?) politicians. A farmer said to me: "Why, I thought things were going on all right, that the men in Congress were looking after it, and all we had to do was to keep up our end of affairs in the line of raising grain and stock, pay our taxes, occasionally stop the plow to talk with candidates, etc.; but I see that the men of State and National affairs have, first of all, looked after their own interest, and that was of such vast importance that they have not yet come down to us, the people. This business of politics is like all other business; that is, if I do n't look after my interest in politics as well as on the farm, it is certain no one else will. I find I have now two fields to cultivate—one the corn-field, and the other the field that relates to affairs of State. Even up to lately, I instinctively felt that all was not well; but I could not tell where the political ailment was located. I am now investigating matters; and the wonder to me is, that we have, like dumb brutes, endured all this without questioning."

My friends, the investigation of this subject by the people is simplifying the subject. It is more easily understood than heretofore. I was very much amused, the other day, by reading a home incident on "Kindergarten Tariff Study," narrating how Mr. and Mrs. Smithers became converted to tariff reform. I give it to you as it appeared in the Chicago *Daily*

News of September 3, 1890. You will enjoy it. It is as follows:

“‘Clarence,’ said young Mrs. Smithers one morning, at the breakfast-table, ‘what is all this talk on the tariff I see in the papers? What is the tariff anyhow, and what is it good for?’

“‘The tariff, my dear,’ replied young Mr. Smithers, graciously [Mr. Smithers, it should be remarked, tells his story in the columns of *Light*, a humorous Chicago weekly journal], ‘is a tax laid on imported articles for the purpose of raising revenue, and encouraging and protecting home industries. For instance, if the manufacture of steel rails languishes in this country, we put a tariff of thirty dollars a ton on imported steel rails, and the manufacture of steel rails in this country immediately picks up; and the men who work at the business are paid better, because they do not have the foreign-made article to compete with, except at an advance of thirty dollars a ton over the old cost. Besides that, the tariff on what foreign-made rails do come over goes to help fill the treasury.’

“‘Why, I think that is real ‘cute,’ replied Mrs. Smithers, who took in the situation, as some tariff statesmen do, at a glance. ‘Suppose we try it. We need some way of laying by money, and I think I need some encouragement in doing my own work, and I think a plan like the tariff would be perfectly splendid.’

“‘All right, if you can work it,’ responded young Smithers, who readily fell in with his wife’s plans, since they had only been married a short time.

“‘The way I would fix it is this: Every time you take a meal down-street, you must pay into the treasury a sum equal to the cost of your dinner. That will encourage you to eat my dinners—“encourage home production,” I believe you call it. Every time you

bring a loaf of baker's bread into the house you must put a dime in the treasury, and that will encourage me to make our own bread. I know I can make perfectly elegant bread if I only have proper encouragement. And then, you know, I am going to have a garden in the back yard, or at least I want to start one, and I want to have some assurance that my vegetables will be eaten; so we'll agree to put into the treasury the cost of all the vegetables we use this summer. And then we—'

"'I think,' mildly suggested Mr. Smithers, 'we had better let the tariffs you have named do for the present, till we see how the thing goes.'

"'See how it goes? Why, of course it will go splendidly! Does n't it go splendidly in politics? Do n't you think the plan is good?' asked Mrs. Smithers, half hurt.

"'O, it's excellent!' agreed Mr. Smithers, who, being a 'high-tariff Republican,' could not go back on his avowed principles.

"'And you'll promise to live up to it?' questioned Mrs. Smithers.

"'Yes, for six months,' agreed Mr. Smithers.

"Six months after that, as Mr. Smithers dropped fifty-five cents into the treasury-box as an equivalent for the lunch he had eaten down street, and the small loaf of bread he had brought home, he heaved a sigh of relief, and gasped:

"'Thank Heaven! it's over with.'

"'What's the matter, Clarence?' asked his wife.

"'Angelina,' solemnly returned young Mr. Smithers, 'does it occur to you that we are both consummate fools?'

"'No. Why?' exclaimed Mrs. Smithers in surprise.

"'Because we have been carrying on this extravagant foolishness for the last six months.'

“‘O, you mean the tariff? Why, I thought it was working splendid. You’ve never complained. What’s the matter now?’

“‘I’ve never complained, because I said I would live up to it for six months; but I’ve done a pile of thinking. The blamed thing has kept me strapped and half starved for the last half year. Every time I’ve taken a dinner down town it has cost me twice as much as it should have; and every time I’ve taken a dinner home—well, you must admit you have n’t improved a bit in your cooking with all this encouragement.’

“‘Well, Clarence,’ retorted young Mrs. Smithers, bristling up, ‘you know some of the bad dinners were the fault of the help in the kitchen.’

“‘Yes; and what kind of help do you have in the kitchen? The cheapest kind procurable. I should think your full treasury would enable you to hire better girls at good wages,’ said Mr. Smithers, with a vague idea that he had scored the same point that he had often heard made about the tariff and the workingman’s wages.

“‘How foolish you talk, Clarence!’ exclaimed Mrs. Smithers. ‘What’s the use of paying eight dollars for a girl when you can get one for four dollars? and besides, if I had paid the girl all the treasury, what good would the tariff have done *me*?’

“Mr. Smithers did not attempt to answer these unanswerable questions.

“‘Have you learned to make bread any better because every loaf of baker’s bread that’s been brought into this house has cost me twenty cents where it should have cost ten? No. Your bread is as soggy and unpalatable as ever; so we have to buy baker’s bread anyway. And then that foolishness with the garden,’ went on Mr. Smithers. ‘What do you suppose that garden has cost both of us?’

“‘I do n’t know,’ admitted Mrs. Smithers.

“‘Well, I do. Just 100 per cent more than a garden will next summer. Now, I’ve paid your tariff on every vegetable that’s come into this house, and yet it did n’t encourage your garden to raise anything more than radishes and lettuce, because it was n’t anything more than a radish and lettuce garden. Yet I’ve paid double prices on potatoes and turnips, when you could n’t raise potatoes and turnips in your garden if you were paid three times as much tariff on all imported potatoes and turnips. But still,’ went on Mr. Smithers, consolingly, ‘I suppose there’s something gained. You ought to have a good sum laid by to make up for my continual hardupness.’”

“‘No!’ cried young Mrs. Smithers, bursting into tears; ‘I have n’t. I’ve always considered that treasury something of a luxury, and I’m afraid I’ve spent more—more than I should have. Every time I’d count it I’d get to thinking how rich I was; and then I’m afraid I’ve been a little—extravagant, Clarence. And once or twice I’ve given sums to charity where, I’m afraid, I’ve been imposed upon. I gave \$50 to rebuild a St. Glanden’s church that had been burned down; and I afterward found out there was no St. Glanden’s church that had been burned down!’”

“Mr. Smithers had never been to Congress, but he could not help thinking of river and harbor bills, and extravagant appropriations in this connection. He simply whistled and said: ‘Angelina, the more I look into this “tariff” business the bigger fools I think we both have been.’”

It is a scientific fact that the text-books on political science, accepted as authority by most of our higher institutions of learning, look at this subject as viewed from the stand-point of moral principle.

In giving expression to this fact, a politician remarked to me that this leaning was to "free trade." I inquired what he meant by "free trade." The usual answer of a "protectionist" was given. I said: "Do you call that free trade?" "O no; but a reduction of tariff." "Why, then," I replied, "do you protectionists constantly charge free trade against your political antagonists when you know that there is no such thing?" His reply was indicative of confusion of sentiment as well as of inconsistency on the question of the tariff. No one believes in *free trade*. So, then, the debate is on the increase or decrease of duty on imports and foreign manufactories. I am reminded of Pat's pledge to total abstinence. He had been a constant drinker to the extent of fifty drinks per day. He pledged himself to but forty-seven drinks per day and called it total abstinence. His employer, who was a high-tariff man, said to Pat that that was not total abstinence, but that he must drink no drams at all. Pat turned upon him with his tariff logic that when the Republican and Democratic parties differed but three cents on the tariff, the Republicans called Democrats "free traders," so that certainly if fifty drinks a day amounted to inebriation, forty-seven drinks per day meant total abstinence. And this was true according to the Republican arithmetic. It is on this tariff question that old parties seek an "issue," though the plank of one in the campaign of this year may be the plank of the other next year,—any thing for an issue. If there is no difference,

then, as a campaign can not be run without an "issue," and there can be no issue without a difference, the issue can be easily defined by the National Convention of one party resolving that six is a half-dozen. The other takes up the glove thrown down, and "fairly and squarely" joins issue, resolving that a half-dozen is six.

Mr. Grant, in 1875, in his Annual Message, recommends tariff reduction. Mr. Garfield, in his message, recommends a further increase of the free-list. Mr. Arthur recommends, also, an enlargement of the free-list. In the regular line of suggestions for reduction, Mr. Cleveland, Democratic President, recommends a reduction of surplus by increase of free-list—a thing that Mr. Blaine did when he would put tobacco, as a useful commodity, on the free-list. And yet what three Republican Presidents and one would-be Republican President recommend, becomes, when a Democrat recommends the same thing, the basis of a charge that Cleveland would foist upon us British free trade, and was chargeable with playing into the hands of the British. If the charge be true, can it be more serious than the Republican policy of playing into the hands of the British through the monopolistic policy of the party, which, as I have said to the people before, is bearing fruit in rapidly transplanting Old World landlordism and aristocracy to our soil?

But upon the tariff question, as in some other planks we have between the Republican and Democrat party a distinction without a difference. I will read

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before this audience, side by side, the position of both parties in 1884:

Republican.

"The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve tax-payers without injuring the laborer or great productive interest of the country."

Democratic Plank.

"The Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth."

A careful perusal of the platforms for 1888 will indicate similar generalities, that will admit of any sort of construction.

But I was speaking of text-books on political science. The authors of most of these works are also extensive writers on moral science; and as moral science is Christian science in the true acceptation of the term, it is a most natural and logical consequence of reasoning that the two fit into each other as timbers tongued and grooved for a well-protected edifice. Politicians seeing this, and laboring under the idea, prevailing in certain quarters, that morals and politics should be divorced, are exceedingly anxious to know what is being taught in our higher institutions on the subject of tariff. I believe that in the main our text-books on this subject were written without political bias when our fathers dealt with principles relating to government from the moral stand-point. I believe they wrote with a spirit of independence that rose above the party.

lash, advocating, first of all, what they thought to be right in the sight of God, which, of course, would be the greatest good to the greatest number.

But our schools, not being free from embarrassment from these contending factions, and both urging their claims with political imperiousness, I have thought this would be a good suggestion ; namely, that a chapter representing each side of the question, written by recognized authority competent to expound the doctrine of each party, appear side by side in the same text-book, and thus furnish reliable and comparative views upon which the student, judging upon the merits of the case, could draw his own conclusions.

On a somewhat limited scale, this is the method adopted by Wayland, giving the salient points of both arguments. Taking this as an illustration, he says, first on free trade: It is held fundamental as a principle that "free trade expresses the principle that a nation's wealth and prosperity are best promoted by securing the utmost freedom for the exchange of all commodities among our people, and with the people of other countries." It is assumed on this ground that "theoretically the presumption is in favor of free trade."

First proof: "For all economic processes and results, in general aspect, the law of freedom is most favorable."

Second proof: "The right of property implies freedom for every one to do what he will with his own, provided he does not infringe on the rights of others."

Third proof: "The social instincts of men prompt

them to the practical adoption of this principle of freedom of exchange."

Fourth proof: "Free commercial intercourse between the nations of the earth tends evidently to establish their mutual relations upon a basis of peace and good-will."

Fifth proof: "The nations of men are of one blood, and constitute one family; and all the face of the earth, with its great diversity of resources and productions, is given to the one human race."

It is well for my hearers to be well informed in the arguments that elaborate these points.

Place by the side of these the points in argument for protection, and choose ye. It is stated that the basis of the argument is wholly on "the promotion of *home industry*." The following points are given in proof of the desirability of "protection":

First proof: "Protection is necessary to secure that variety of industry and that balance of different industries which are essential to a people's prosperity."

Second proof: "Protection is a necessary means of maintaining national independence."

Third proof: "The advantages of a home market for agricultural products presents a strong reason in favor of the protective policy."

Fourth proof: "Protection is regarded as favoring the fullest and best application of the principle of the division of labor."

Fifth proof: "Protection is advocated as a means of retaliation for commercial disabilities imposed by other nations."

Sixth proof: "Protection is drawn from the fact that, through the centuries past, it has been generally adopted by commercial nations of Christendom, and is still approved and advocated by statesmen of clear intellect and practical wisdom in this and other lands."

Thus we have, by way of comparison, the opposing principles, and thus the issue. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The first query that presents itself at this point, and in connection with this vital subject as we have it in National affairs, is this: What protection claims for its support, presented in these six proofs of its justification, will be manifest in its fruit. But if, in the face of these claims, the people do not realize said benefits, doubts will arise concerning its wisdom. Therefore, plainly, as we have it, does "protection" protect? We are told that it protects *industries*. By industries, I presume, is meant various manufacturing interests. That it protects the manufacturer, no one will dispute. Does it in like manner protect the consumer?

The *American Economist*, devoted to "protection," says in its issue of April 5, 1889:

"Salt has reached such a figure in the Western States that it is no joke to say that the cheapest way to get an empty barrel is to buy a barrel of Saginaw salt, and throw away the salt. The writer once paid two dollars for an empty barrel in Madison, Wis., for a specific purpose, while the barrel of salt at Saginaw sells for only fifty-eight cents, and the freight added

would not have brought it above the ordinary price of an empty barrel."

Hear the logic of this reasoning. If the salt monopoly or combine desires high price for salt, "protect" it; but if consumers would rather pay fifty-eight cents per barrel than two dollars, then prefer "free trade." In other words, to prove our patriotism to home industries (which in this as in most others stands for monopoly), prove it by our preferring to pay two dollars for a barrel of salt rather than fifty-eight cents. In other words, "consumers" are expected to attest their loyalty to the country by fore-going the pleasure of buying salt at fifty-eight cents per barrel, that Jones, Smith, or Brown may be protected in the monopoly of this "industry."

Even while I speak, the Illinois Steel Company is lobbying in the United States Congress for protection on tin-plate. No one is manufacturing tin-plate in this country; but this gigantic company, backed by its millions, contemplates making tin-plate. [A voice from the audience says, "The bill has passed."] So, then, tin-plate is "protected." The anomaly exists that for an industry that has no existence in this country, except prospectively, the ware made from tin-plate will increase in market price, and the people pay the bills. This is the protection of what is called an "*infant industry*."

Mr. Ingersoll was not far off when he said, in effect, that he was in favor of protecting *infant industry*; but when the infant got to wearing number

twelve boots, and still cried for "protection," something was wrong, and particularly so when that infant got to be so large and strong as to say that if we did not continue to rock the cradle of its infancy, it would get out of bed and kick us all out of the house. I think this attitude of the monopolistic element in politics should be an eye-opener, and particularly so to "consumers."

The most misleading statement of all is this: "The advantage of a home market for agricultural products presents a strong reason in favor of the protective policy." Just how the Nebraska and Kansas farmers will interpret this, as they sit by the stove and convert their corn into fuel, is not difficult to determine. Certainly it is a strange application of the "protective" principle in the matter of a *home* market for the products of the farm. I can not persuade myself that the average farmer accepts this as a desirable experience in patronizing home industries. If this is the result of the "protective" idea, well may every farmer devoutly use the Churchman's prayer: "From all such, good Lord deliver us!" It is quite certain that the "home-market" theory of the "protectionist" has not relieved the situation among agriculturists.

In its application to the question in hand—namely, prohibition—the tariff makes a despicable showing. If, as we are told, the tariff is sufficient to pay the expenses of Government machinery, then is the liquor-traffic as a source of revenue not needed. Even if tariff on imports is not sufficient, the rev-

enue from liquor is not essential to meet expenses of Government. And if not needed, it should be abolished; and a failure to abolish it when not needed, is *prima facie* evidence of complicity with the traffic for political ends.

Two years before his nomination as candidate for the Presidency, Mr. J. G. Blaine brought the temperance question into politics more prominently than ever before, constituting it a permanent issue until the traffic is overthrown. In this act (see his letter to *Philadelphia Press*, November 22, 1882), he admits that custom duties run the Government; therefore make rum revenue take the place of direct taxation for purposes of public education, holding that the tax would not be felt because paid by consumers. This is not a new theory. The Baxter Law of Indiana was repealed, and a license law based upon the principle advocated by Mr. Blaine, enacted. This indirect tax was not felt, because it was "paid by the consumers." But how severely it was felt, and is to this day, by these consumers!

I have not the latest statistics, but you may be assured that there has been no improvement in the case; but the *Monitor Journal* says that, from 1861 to 1881, Indiana paid for criminal expenses, largely the product of her liquor-traffic, \$14,762,359.45. During this time license was paid into the treasuries of the State, \$2,277,346.13. Subtract this amount from the cost, and we still have \$12,384,213.33 paid out of the people's pocket. Governor Foster, of Ohio, said that it costs Ohio annually \$2,000,000 to support

its poor, and \$2,500,000 is directly chargeable to the liquor-traffic. The entire saloon system of the State at that time paid less than \$300,000 into the treasury, leaving \$2,300,000 to be provided for by the people. It is no better now, but growing worse. Away with the falsehood that liquor relieves of the burden of direct taxation!

Mr. Blaine makes a misleading statement when he says, "The tax on spirits oppresses no one." It is not in the nature of the case that this statement can be true. That tax touches somewhere where its oppression must be painfully felt. Surely the victims of drink and families of the same feel its "burden." Mr. Blaine begs the question when he says: "It is paid by the consumer, and the most extreme advocate of temperance can not maintain that taxing the article increases its consumption." To this I reply that every one knows that, when the highest tax ever known was placed on liquor, it dated the "boom" of the traffic. His statement is preposterous in this, that a business that has for its sole purpose the making of money is willing to be taxed heavily for the privilege of selling a less quantity of goods, and thus for the sake of reducing the consumption of goods sold! If under the highest tax the increased sale of liquor has been highly satisfactory to the "trade," what have the customers done with the goods? Have they correspondingly drank more; or have they poured the article into the ditch, instead of its pouring them into it?

But, Mr. J. G. Blaine, permit me to inquire, if

taxing the traffic has not resulted in increased consumption, what, then, has caused this increase? Two years after Mr. Blaine's epistle to the *Philadelphia Press*, he received the nomination for the Presidency on his party ticket, and in the interest of his election the brewing trade issued a circular. That circular said: "The brewing trade of the United States, from a small beginning about thirty years ago, has *increased relatively to a greater degree than that of any other industry*, the capital invested to-day in plant and production being over a hundred million dollars." This *prosperity*, mark you, being attributed to *tax on beer*, the circular proceeds to say: "Is it not, therefore, of paramount importance that this tax be retained, if prices and wages be kept to their present standard?" I protest, Mr. Chairman, in the presence of these intelligent people that, whether the most "extreme temperance advocates" say or not that tax increases consumption, it is quite clear that the brewers themselves, from New York to California, say, *for the benefit of the trade*, "that this tax be retained."

The *Mida's Criterion*, a Chicago liquor paper, in its issue of August 16th, this year (1890), says, from official figures, that for whisky and beer there has been paid, in 1890, \$104,000,000 more than for the same in 1889. There must be *increased consumption* somewhere. And, mark you, never within the history of the Nation, aside from Government revenue, has liquor been "taxed" more heavily than during the past few years; but see, under it, all this *marvelous increase in the "drink bill,"* which is the same as

increased consumption of \$104,000,000 in *one* year. It does not take a "most extreme advocate of temperance" to see that even tax, and high tax at that, increases consumption. Somewhere our attention has been called to the fact that articles of commerce that are not harmful have been decreased by tax, such as oleomargarine; but tax on an evil thing has tended to increase the evil. Verily the only remedy is prohibition. There are those who hold that the burdens we put on liquor better the character of the traffic, as well as of the men in it.

Just how men can believe that the market price of an evil should supersede grace in the betterment of character, I am unable to understand. I believe my inability in this is pardonable. But what are the facts in the case? Theorize as we may, give us the facts. Let us compare notes at this point:

New York Tribune:-

"The same testimony comes from Omaha where high license blotted out the low dives and *thieves'* haunts [this will be news in Omaha], and where police records prove that the diminution in crime is in exact proportion to the diminution of the number of saloons. The same results have been seen in Chicago. In short, if there is a community in which high license has not had this direct and powerful influence for good morals, that fact has never been made known."

St. Louis Republican:-

"These dives [the lowest] are so numerous in the city, their organization is so compact, their clientèle so extensive, that as long as present conditions remain they will control the city completely. . . . The more disreputable the dive, the greater its political influence, the more impudently aggressive its determination to rule at all hazards. Our present license law was intended to break their power, but as far as it applies to St. Louis it has rather served to increase it."

Is the case any better in high-license Chicago? In 1889 there were in five of the police stations of the city 11,118 women locked up; and we are told that the city has one saloon for every forty voters, and a policeman for every two hundred votes. Its "black-hole," anarchy, and crime have greatly increased under high license. As one truly says, "High license in Chicago is a howling success." The Cook County grand jury calls the attention of the courts to the infamous and crime-breeding character of Chicago high-license saloons.

But even from the stand-point of revenue, can any sensible man believe that its \$2,000,000 from saloon licenses is of more benefit to the city than the legitimate tax on \$28,000,000 which the people spend for drink, were that amount invested in more honorable ways? Nay, verily. The nine hundred millions annually spent in this Nation for drink would, through its investment in other industries, more than meet all demands of the Government. As it is, it is *worse than wasted*.

Why do we wish the revenue on liquor abated? Is free whisky better than license?

The Methodist Episcopal Church, speaking through its highest tribunal, says: "We are unalterably opposed to the enactment of laws that provide by license, taxing, or otherwise, to regulate the drink-traffic, *because they provide for its continuance, and afford no protection against its ravages.*"

You see that the revenue system, in one form or another, is regarded by the most intelligent thinkers

as the traffic's rock of defense. This the traffic itself claims. Peter Iler says: "High license is a great benefit to our business; . . . *bars out prohibition*; . . . does not lessen quantity drank; . . . gives the business a legal standing," etc. So shouts a chorus of distillers, brewers, and dealers. These men know whereof they speak. If it be true, then, as the traffic and the license system are alike "vicious in principle," I move that the whole thing be forever prohibited, and that this "refuge of lies," known as the license system, cease forever "to provide for the continuance" of the traffic. Then can prohibition, pure and simple, afford protection against the ravages of this covenant with death and league with hell.

But on the subject in general I see a great awakening. All people are consumers, but more particularly are the laboring classes—such as mechanics and farmers—affected by tariff, and so by whole districts the thousands are giving attention to the subject as never before, and investigation seems to be the order of the day.

Thousands are singing this song, which sounds like poetry, but looks like prose. It is said to be recited by one of the Kansas corn-burners:

"He sat at his door at noonday, lonely and gloomy and sad, brooding over the price of his corn-crop, and figuring how much he had. He had worked from early spring-time, early and late and hard; and he was counting his assets, and figuring out his reward. He figured that it took two acres to buy his two boys new boots, and ten acres more on top of this to fit them out with new suits. To buy his wife a protected

dress took a hundred bushels more, while five acres went in a solid lump for the carpets on the floor. His tax and his grocery bill absorbed his crop of oats, while the interest on his farm mortgage took all his fattened shoats. The shingles on his cow-shed and the lumber for his barn had eaten up his beef-steers and the balance of his corn. So he sat in his door at noonday, lonely and gloomy and sore, as he figured up his wealth a little less than it was the year before. *'By gum, they say I'm protected, but I know there's something wrong; I've been deceived and gulled and hoodwinked by this high protection song. They told of rebellious traitors, and held up the bloody rag, and I followed along like a pumpkin, and now I am holding the bag. But from this time on I'll investigate, and get to the bottom of facts, and I'll bet four dollars to begin with that THE TARIFF IS A TAX.'*

I perceive, by the faces before me and expressions of approval of the sentiments advocated, that you are disposed to like my argument, particularly that part in quotation. "What I say unto one I say unto all, Watch"—INVESTIGATE.

LECTURE V.

WHY A PROHIBITION PARTY.

MR. CHAIRMAN—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Mr. T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, is represented as saying: "One hogshead of whisky in the city of New York, judiciously placed, may make or unmake a President." As between the two old political parties the supreme issue is, Which shall place that hogshead, Democrat or Republican party? And this reminds me of a cut representing old Father Alcohol taking his two pets out for their usual morning exercise. Father Alcohol's body is a hogshead, his head a beer-keg, his arms, hands, legs, and feet composed of wine, beer, and pop bottles. His pets are two horny rams; and with a ribbon tied to the horns and tail of each, and suspended on his thumbs, he watches the two sheep back out, and then come with heavy thud against each other. One sheep is called Democrat, the other Republican. Watching the amusement, Father Alcohol says: "Now, pets, butt each other all you are a mind to, but be careful and don't butt pa." Whoever may have the placement of the hogshead in New York City, that makes or unmakes a President, it is quite certain that neither old party will butt Pa Alcohol.

In certain political circles it is thought that a

choice between these parties contains the sum total of political wisdom and action. The question to be decided in the face of such a sentiment is, Can we expect from the record of either party—Democrat or Republican—that either will or can satisfy the moral conscience of the people with action that looks assuredly to the extirpation of the liquor-traffic? To satisfy the Prohibitionists, it is a common argument to quote the record of action of each party as to prohibition. It is sufficient to say that it matters not what the "past record" of any party may be, but it is of supreme moment to know what is the present intent. I take immensely more stock in a man who was wrong twenty-five years ago and is right to-day, than I do in one who was right then and is wrong now. But of these two men, right or wrong then, if wrong now, I will take no stock in either. Like Paul, when turning from a party that pleaded its past record as a justification for present and future patronage, and yet which did not accomplish the end for which constituted, "Lo, I turn to the Gentiles." Christ replied to the Jews who claimed justification for continuance in power upon the fact that they had Abraham to their father: "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruit thereof." The prophet tells us that righteousness that exists only in the past tense shall not be mentioned. (Read Ezekiel xviii, 24.) The principle that applies to the individual applies also to parties and nations.

But to the record as between the two parties. It

is said that more votes for prohibition come from the Republican party than from the party called Democrat. I have before me a compilation of 3,521 votes cast for the Prohibition ticket. Of these 1,976 were previously Republicans and 1,753 previously Democrats—223 more Republicans than Democrats out of a total of 3,521. There should have been even a greater showing in favor of the Republicans; for the precincts from which the estimate is taken were largely in majority Republican. The general rule is, that where there are more Republicans than Democrats, a greater portion of Prohibition votes will come from that party, and where Democrats are in the majority they will furnish the greater number. It depends largely upon which side of Mason and Dixon's line as to which party can show the greater and better record upon this question.

It is with great reluctance I burden you with lengthy quotations by way of proof; but it may be my only reliance for compliments from my congregation. You have heard of the lady who complimented her pastor by saying she greatly admired his sermons, particularly the portions in quotation. If I "fish for compliments," I must confess they may come along the line of "quotations."

In the Iowa Legislature of 1885-6 in reply to a Democratic charge that the Republican party had been "guilty" of sumptuary legislation, the Hon. Senator Sutton, resenting it, furnishes us with facts, dates, and figures, and I give the same at this point, because no one will doubt that it is good Republican

authority. I furthermore give it as published by the Chicago *Tribune*, which at that date was considered an authoritative exponent of the position of the Republican party on moral questions, and particularly on the prohibition question. Senator Sutton said :

" Prohibition has more Democratic support to-day than Republican support. I defy the senator from Harrison to cite any Democratic temperance legislation whatever outside the State of Missouri that has not been in the line of prohibition. [Senator Sutton waited for an answer.] The senator does not cite any. There is a good reason for his not doing so. He can not. I defy the senator to point to a single Democratic State aside from Missouri that ever enacted high license, and Missouri enacted prohibition at the same time it enacted high license, and gave the people of localities an option between the two. Every other Democratic State has done all its temperance work in the line of prohibition. I will take the senator to the banner Democratic county in this country—Owens County, Kentucky, where John C. Breckinridge first ran for Congress. Owens County elected him by its enormous Democratic majority. In the last Presidential election it gave 2,399 votes for Grover Cleveland, and only 577 for Blaine. Now, this banner Democratic county undertook to serve the cause of temperance. It petitioned the Democratic Legislature of Kentucky for a prohibitory law, and got it, and in that Democratic county that made imprisonment in the county jail a part of every penalty for selling intoxicating liquors. Thirty other counties in Kentucky have done the same thing. Enough smaller localities have secured prohibitory laws, so that more than half the Democratic State of Kentucky is under prohibition, well enforced by severe penal laws. The Democratic State of West Virginia has prohibition in

forty out of its fifty-four counties. Democratic Delaware has done all its temperance work in the line of prohibition, and one-third of its territory is covered by prohibitory laws. Democratic Virginia has done all its temperance work in the same line. It has not done much, but it has given prohibition to twelve of its counties. Democratic North Carolina has fully half of its territory covered by prohibitory laws. Democratic South Carolina is a stronger prohibitory State than can be found in the whole North. It stands ahead of Maine, of Kansas, and of Iowa. Democratic Georgia is fully abreast with South Carolina. Democratic Mississippi has more prohibition and less saloons, according to its population, than any State in the Union. On this question it leads the Union. Home of Jeff Davis though it be, it is nevertheless the banner Prohibition State of the Union. Democratic Alabama is almost abreast with Mississippi. Tennessee has three-fourths of its territory covered by well-enforced prohibitory law. Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas have all done their temperance work in the line of prohibition and in no other line. As I said to the senator from Harrison, every secure and safe Democratic State has indorsed and adopted prohibition as its temperance law, and in all these States the prohibitory law is well enforced by prison penalties. Here is a specimen, taken from one of the prohibitory laws of Maryland :

“ ‘Any person violating the provisions of this law shall pay a fine for each and every violation of not less than \$50 nor more than \$300, one-half of which shall go to the informer, and the party convicted shall be confined in the Maryland House of Correction for not exceeding six months.’

“ This House of Correction is a penitentiary. The prohibitory laws in all the Democratic States uniformly make imprisonment an imperative part of the

penalty for violation. Democratic Maryland employs informers to ferret out illegal sales of intoxicating liquors and sends its offenders to the penitentiary.

"The South leads us in the severity of its penalties against liquor-selling. The senator says this bill is a Republican measure, because it makes continued defiance of law a felony. He has but to read the history of his own party to find that all the safe and secure Democratic States have been sending whisky-sellers to prison for years. The senator dwells upon what he calls Republican oppression, because the Republican party of Iowa demands rigid provisions for the enforcement of prohibitory law. The enforcement of prohibition has always required such provisions. This experience has been as much the experience of the Democratic party as that of the Republican party. Here is a law enacted by the Democratic Legislature of Alabama to prevent evasion of their prohibitory law by druggists. I read an exact copy:

"That on and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any person to make, sell, or otherwise dispose of any spirituous or malt liquors or other intoxicating drinks in the county of Dale: *Provided*, that any regular physician in good standing may prescribe such liquors in his practice, when no other medicine or drugs will serve the same purpose, which fact shall be stated in the prescription, giving the name of the patient and the nature of the disease, and said prescription shall be good for only five days and shall provide the size and number of doses the patient shall take each day.'

"Now, if such a law as the above were introduced in the Republican Legislature of Iowa, it would be denounced as a more monstrous, iniquitous, and oppressive law than was ever proposed by Nero himself. I believe that is the senator's favorite comparison. In Alabama, however, doubly Democratic Alabama,

and in her Democratic Legislature, there was not a voice, either Democrat or Republican, that was raised against it. Their experience in enforcing prohibition is quite like ours. They find it requires radical and stringent provisions. There, however, they meet no organized opposition from the opposing party like we do in Iowa. The Republicans in the Democratic States do not oppose the enforcement of Democratic prohibition for party purposes. Democrats, however, make their chief political capital in a few Republican States by joining saloon-keepers and opposing the enforcement of the prohibitory laws.

EXTENT OF PROHIBITION IN SEVERAL DEMOCRATIC STATES.

"I have called the senator's attention to the nature of the prohibitory laws in the several Democratic States. I wish to call his attention to the extent of these laws. If all the secure Democratic States were put together in one confederacy, as they once desired, fully one-half of the entire territory would be covered by laws like those I have cited. If the senator has any doubt of this I am prepared to give the counties, the townships, and towns to prove my assertion. The largest city that ever voted prohibition is Atlanta, Ga. If the senator were to go to any safe and secure Democratic State and make such a tirade against prohibition as he has made here to-day he would be hissed out of the party. They cheer him when he utters such sentiments in the North, but they would never tolerate it in the South. To say that prohibition is a Republican measure is too absurd to be believed, except by such as know nothing whatever of the facts. Every safe and secure Democratic State is pledged to prohibition, and, with the single exception of Missouri, recognizes no other method of restricting the liquor-traffic. The Democratic States lead the Republican States in this work.

THE PROHIBITORY STATES.

"I want to array the Prohibitory States of the Union in a line and the order of their rank, so the senator from Harrison can see them. I think, from the way he talks, that he never made their acquaintance. The 30th day of last April, as shown by the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, which I hold in my hand, and which I will send to the senator if he desires it, we find the following facts with regard to the number of retail liquor-dealers:

"Democratic Mississippi, with her 1,131,000 people and only 939 retail liquor-dealers, stands first.

"Democratic Georgia, with 1,542,000 people and 1,387 retail liquor-dealers, stands second.

"Democratic South Carolina, with 995,000 people and 931 retail liquor-dealers, stands third.

"Democratic Tennessee, with her 1,542,000 people and 1,602 retail liquor-dealers, stands fourth.

"Democratic Alabama, with her 1,363 liquor-dealers, stands fifth.

"Republican Vermont, with 332,000 people and 436 retail liquor-dealers, stands sixth.

"Democratic West Virginia, with her 618,000 people and 943 retail liquor-dealers, stands seventh.

"Republican Maine, with her 648,000 people and 1,014 retail liquor-dealers, stands eighth.

"Republican Kansas, with her 1,200,000 people and 2,068 retail liquor-dealers, stands ninth.

"Republican Iowa, with her 1,624,000 people and 3,546 retail liquor-dealers, stands tenth.

"Can the senator from Harrison look at this array of the Prohibition States and say that prohibition is more Republican than Democratic?

DEMOCRACY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INJUNCTION LAW.

"The senator is especially severe on our Injunction Law against saloons. He characterizes this remedy as unprecedented, and as a species of Neroism,

and charges the monstrous iniquity to the Republican party. Now, I want to show him how he is again entirely and completely wrong.

"The senator is one of the oldest lawyers in Iowa, and one of the most successful. As a lawyer, he knows that all nuisances have long been enjoined, and that injunction is the only remedy for the abatement of nuisances. Very well; the senator admits this. Now, who was it that declared a saloon to be a nuisance? Was it the Republican party? No; it was the Democratic party, and the Democratic party of Iowa, and the Democratic Legislature of Iowa in 1851; and here is the law:

"Upon the conviction of any person engaged in any establishment prohibited in this chapter, the proper matter being found, the court is required to declare such establishment a nuisance."

"This is Democratic law. The Democratic party of Iowa, in the only temperance law it ever enacted, declared a saloon to be a nuisance, and our present law only treats the saloon as the institution the Democratic party of Iowa declared it to be."

Senator Bolter—"Does the senator from Marshall mean to admit that the Republican party is now occupying the same ground that the Democratic party occupied twenty-five years ago?"

Senator Sutton—"I do; and more. When the Democratic party enacted prohibition, the Republican party said amen, and helped to enforce the law. It was not a party measure, and the Republican minority did not seek to make it a party question for party purposes, but gave the law their support. If you would follow that example, the saloons of Iowa would be closed without trouble."

Senator Bolter—"Did not the Republicans repeal the Democratic prohibitory law?"

Senator Sutton—"A Republican Legislature re-

pealed a part of it, but not as a party measure. The bill was voted for as much by Democrats as by Republicans."

Senator Bolter—"For what purpose was the law repealed?"

Senator Sutton—"Because it was believed that its repeal would promote the cause of temperance. [Bolter gave a loud laugh.] The senator laughs. I am glad. He laughs because Republicans thought to serve the cause of temperance by attempting to regulate the traffic in intoxicating liquors. Well, let him laugh. He is laughing at the very proposition, and the only proposition, that the Democratic party of Iowa now makes to the people. Our German friends contended that the use of the lighter beverages would satisfy the demand for intoxicants and prevent the use of strong drinks, and thus prevent drunkenness. The senator from Harrison says he challenges any senator on this floor to cite a precedent where the violator of a penal law has been punished by civil process."

Senator Bolter—"The senator does not correctly quote me."

Senator Sutton—"Will the senator correct me?"

Senator Bolter—"I challenge any senator to cite a single great reformation that has been made successful by the enforcement of stringent penalties. I challenge the senator from Marshall. Does he accept the challenge?"

Senator Sutton—"I do. I accept the challenge with pleasure. I will cite an example that even the senator from Harrison will himself confess. Polygamy once ruled the world. There has been a great reformation from polygamy. It has been successful, too. It has been made successful by making bigamy a felony in every State in the Union and in every nation in Christendom. I want to say to the senator from Harrison that the Democratic Administration is

now striking the final blow in that reformation by sending John Q. Cannon and other leading polygamists in Utah to the penitentiary.

"I will say more. I will say that no new rule of conduct interfering with established customs has ever been enforced by any nation or people from the days of Moses down to the present day except by providing severe penalties for violation of the rule. So common has this been that political economists agree that penalties should be sufficiently severe to prevent open violation."

I give you this quotation at length for the simple reason that had I, in a prohibition speech like this, narrated the same facts as a matter of history, the average Republican would have said: "I told you so—always abusing the Republicans." We are making history, and have to do with history, and hold it as begging the question when Republicans or Democrats "squeal" that we are abusing them when we tell the truth about them in the mildest and most loving manner we know how.

I propose to give facts of history now written by as many authors as the books of the New Testament, and yet, while varying somewhat, still agreeing upon the one point at issue. It is important to know who has given us legislation looking in the direction of prohibition of the drink-traffic. Senator Sutton has given us one record, here is another. The *Lever and Liberator* says:

"1. In Maine prohibition was first enacted, in 1849, by a *Democratic** Legislature; was amended

* Some claim the honor for the Whigs.

and became the 'Maine Law' in 1851, still by a *Democratic* Legislature; was repealed in 1854, and again re-enacted in 1856, when a little group of 'Anti-slavery Whigs' and 'Free-soilers' and 'Independent Democrats' met at Strong, Maine, and formed the Republican party; the 'Maine Law' had fought its way to victory, and was substantially in the position it is now—that is, the people insist on it in spite of the politicians. Mr. Blaine, the other day, behaved as the politicians do—'dodged'—but the people, by 50,000 majority said, We will have prohibition.

"2. In Minnesota a similar law was passed by a *Democratic* Legislature in 1852, which has since passed through various modifications. Bills for Constitutional amendment defeated in 1882 by a *Republican* Legislature.

"3. In Rhode Island a prohibitory law was passed, in 1852, by a *Democratic* Legislature.

"4. In Massachusetts the law was passed, in 1852, by a *Democratic and Free-soil* Legislature; repealed in 1853; re-enacted in 1855,—all this before the Republican party was born. In 1868 the law was repealed by a *Republican* Legislature.

"5. The Vermont law was passed, in 1852, by the *Whig* Legislature.

"6. In Michigan the law was passed, in 1853, by a *Democratic* Legislature; declared unconstitutional in 1854; re-enacted by a *Democratic* Legislature in 1855; repealed, in 1875, by a *Republican* Legislature, and the present tax law—a strictly *Republican* measure—substituted. In 1872 the *Republican* Legislature refused to submit the question to the people.

"7. *Democratic* Connecticut passed a prohibitory law in 1854, which was repealed in 1872 by a *Republican* Legislature.

"8. *Democratic* Indiana did the same in 1855. The law was nullified by the Supreme Court the same year.

“9. The Iowa law was passed in 1884 as a non-partisan measure. The amendment passed by the *people*, in 1883, was decided illegal, on technical grounds, by a *Republican* Supreme Court.

“10. The Kansas law was passed in 1880. In 1882 the *Republicans* declared in favor of prohibition as a party measure in their State platform. In 1884 they receded from this advanced ground, and only declared in favor of the enforcement of the law, *and placed an anti-prohibitionist at the head of their ticket*.

“11. In Rhode Island a prohibitory law was passed by a *Republican* Legislature, in 1874, and repealed by the *same authority* in 1875.

“12. In New York, . . . since 1872, efforts were made by citizens to secure prohibition. Legislature after Legislature was elected on this issue; bills were passed, to be defeated—now by the veto of the governors, again by the decision of the Supreme Court. The war of 1861-64, and subsequent events, wrought in New York, as elsewhere, to overslaugh the question of prohibition. But since 1876 it has been to the front again in the usual fashion. Legislators were elected by prohibition votes, on solemn pledges to vote for prohibitory laws; but somehow the laws never came. At last a distinct party was organized, which, in 1872, cast 27,158 votes. Then the Republican politicians woke up, as they usually do, declared their undying love for temperance, and promised to submit a prohibitory amendment—or were understood to do so. But in the Legislature of 1883-84, though *strongly Republican*, the amendment failed. There was a great show of trying to pass it, and profuse apologies and explanations, as usual; but it did not pass.

“13. In Ohio the amendment was carried by the *people* in 1883, and counted out by Republican election boards. The Scott tax-law was passed by Re-

publicans in *defiance* of the State Constitution, *and is the declared policy of the Republican party.*

"14. In Illinois the Harper High-license Law is the avowed *Republican policy.*

"15. *Democratic* Maryland has more than two-thirds of its area under prohibitory law. Says Hon. Wm. Daniel: 'They tell us the Republicans gave us all we have procured. Yet . . . the ten counties that have prohibition laws are the strongholds of the Democrats. We tried to get sumptuary laws in the Republican counties, and we got awfully beaten. When we turned to the Democrats, they cheerfully and powerfully gave us their support.' In the State of Georgia, where they have 50,000 *Democratic* majority, 98 of the 113 counties are under prohibition. In *Democratic* South Carolina, outside of large cities, prohibition prevails. In Mississippi they have partial prohibition. In *Democratic* Louisiana and Kentucky they have sumptuary laws. In Tennessee one-half the State is under prohibition, by a law passed in a *Democratic* Legislature, that provided that no saloon should be located within four miles of a school-house. . . .

"16. The Prohibitionists have knocked at the door of *sixteen* Republican Legislatures, and asked for the privilege of voting on this question. They did not ask the Legislatures to enact prohibitory laws; they merely asked the right of the people to vote, and only one Legislature granted the request. The men of these Legislatures stood between the people and the liquor-traffic; they became defenders and supporters of the dram-shop and saloon-keepers. For years and years the country has been flooded with petitions to Legislatures, all bearing on this question. They have been merely shoved into the waste-basket, and the legislators have gone on about their work just as they pleased, and in total disregard of the wishes of the people. . . .

"17. Prohibitory sentiment in all the South, noticeably in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas is more than keeping pace with that of Northern Republican States.

"18. In Nebraska a prohibitory law was passed, in 1855, by a *Democratic* Legislature, and modified by a high-license clause passed by a *Republican* Legislature in 1880.

"19. In Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Minnesota—all *Republican* States—bills to submit the amendment were defeated in 1882.

"20. It should be borne in mind, also, that the increase in the *consumption* of liquor in twenty years of *Republican* administration, during which time the liquor interests have been carefully *protected* by the Government, has been most alarming, and far in excess of the increase in population. According to the United States census reports, this increase from 1860 to 1870 was 45.55 per cent, while the increase in population was only 22.6 per cent, only one-half as much. During the next decade, from 1870 to 1880, the increase in consumption of liquor was 73.27 per cent, while that in population was only 32.7 per cent, two and one-third times greater than the increase in population. Could it have been worse with any other party in power?"

Another estimate, furnished us as late as 1890, with good authority, is as follows: "There are 94,984 liquor-dealers in States under *Republican* control, against 36,170 in States under *Democratic* control. In *Democratic* States there is one saloon to every 662 inhabitants, and in *Republican* States one saloon to every 293 inhabitants." This estimate does not include New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and Connecticut, as they are part of the time *Democratic* and

part of the time Republican. Rhode Island is included with Connecticut by the internal revenue statistics. (See Solid Shot, page 226.)

No political party has given us favorable action in the direction of the suppression of the drink-traffic until driven to do so.

The Democratic party was once the champion of the Union in opposition to the doctrine of State rights, which, carried to the extreme, meant the right of secession. Andrew Jackson begged leave to differ with Mr. Calhoun. It is not a strange thing that, when Jefferson Davis was asked the difference between a Northern and Southern Democrat, that he did not include Mr. Jackson as a typical Democrat. But the Democracy, attaching more importance to party perpetuity than principle, stood rebuked by the results of the War for the Union. It catered to the very evil that put in jeopardy National unity for perpetuity of party existence, and went down in defeat.

The Republican party came into power upon the old Jacksonian doctrine that "the Union must and shall be preserved." When rescued from dismemberment, the question of the prohibition of the liquor-traffic came again to the front. For party perpetuity, the Republican party, following the example of old Democracy, caters for that perpetuity to the liquor element. The liquor-power would destroy our institutions, and hence destroy our country. Party being of greater value than principle, like the old Democracy, it must meet inevitable rebuke in defeat, though that rebuke come again in blood.

When a party makes loud-sounding pledges concerning evils that need correction, if, in the face of these, the very evils to be corrected increase, and are strengthened under its administration, have we not a right to doubt its promises? Have we not a right to distrust it? I can recollect the thrill of patriotism that electrified my whole being as in boyhood I sang the song of the then newly-born "third party:"

"Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm;" meaning that the public domain would be carefully divided, and, upon conditions of the Homestead Law, one hundred and sixty acres of land be deeded to every settler who had reached majority. It now occurs to me that behind every virtue conspicuously presented to the public has been hidden a vice. Behind the homestead idea lies the greatest steal or "land-grab" known since the days of Adam. I mean no thrust at even a railroad grant on condition that lines should be actually built; but I mean genuine Old-world land-grabbing and landlordism. Two-thirds of Ireland is owned by five hundred men who do not live on Ireland's soil. I do not wonder that they are civil and political protestants in Ireland, if they are not religiously so. "For shame!" you say. But what of our own country? Nineteen men (not five hundred by four hundred and eighty-one), not one of whom lives on American soil, nor do they propose to, *own more American acres than all Ireland*. Under what party has foreign landlordism been fos-

tered in our America? Under the one that has impressed us with a contrary state of things by its platform utterances. Who can complain at its utterances against the crying evil of Mormonism? Splendid declarations! But under its administration this blight upon civilization grew to defiant proportions, and not until the administration was changed was there the shadow of a check or bit placed in its mouth to hold it "lest it should come nigh" to the Government. Since the reins of government have again been restored to this professed Jehu of moral reform, the "*conspiracy of silence*" seems applicable to the Mormon as well as other moral questions.

So we may say of its record on the liquor problem. If it has professed one thing and practiced another, we have a right to doubt its sincerity. Indeed, when it fathers the compact between Government and liquor-traffic, and by platform and legislation, as well as by the advocacy of its press, which expounds its political doctrine, it unswervingly adheres to the policy that opposes the extinction of the saloon but provides for its continuance, I repeat that we have good ground to doubt its sincerity. We certainly can do no more than pay to its party utterances the compliment of the old colored brother to the eloquent Dashiell: "I tells ye, Doctor, dat was a mighty good sermon. You is a mighty good preacher—mighty good preacher, sah. I tells you, sah, you is a soundin' brass and a tinklin' cymbal."

Speaking of the victory for Constitutional prohi-

bition in Maine, the Chicago *Tribune* tells plainly how the Republican party must not be held responsible for it. The editor says:

“The law was passed originally by the Democrats. The submission of an amendment to the Constitution at the late election merely changed the form of the prohibition enactment. The amendment is said to have been adopted by seventy thousand majority. The Republican majority was seventeen thousand. If it be admitted that all the Republicans voted for the amendment (which is ridiculous), then the Democrats contributed fifty thousand votes for the amendment—the difference between the Republican majority and the amendment majority. *In that case seven or eight tenths of all the Democrats in the State voted for the prohibition amendment.* Hence it is manifestly absurd to contend that the prohibition amendment aided the Republicans. As a matter of fact, prohibition was not in issue, as it was already the law of the State—a legacy from the Democratic party. *The Republicans took no stand on the question, and it looks as though the Democrats furnished a majority of the votes cast for the amendment.*”

Whatever the action of the Republican party in localities or individual States, the trend, under the guise of “regulation,” is that of an attitude to the liquor-traffic that provides for its continuance. It is exceedingly careful that offense shall not be given to the magnates of the rum-power. It is not likely that the liquor-traffic would contribute of its substance to the campaign fund of an enemy.

From Ohio we have this statement:

“In the Presidential campaign of 1880 the Republican State Committee of Ohio, being in want of

funds, assessed twenty wholesale liquor-dealers in Cincinnati one thousand dollars each (making twenty thousand dollars) for campaign purposes, as was attested by the liquor-men themselves. *It was paid without demur.*"

From Michigan comes this:

"When Judge Cooley, *a friend of prohibition*, was nominated on the Republican ticket for the bench of the Supreme Court, the Republican liquor-men bolted the nomination, and defeated him by thirty thousand votes, *though Michigan is a strong Republican State.*"

From Maine, in 1884, came this announcement:

"*For myself, I decided not to vote at all on the question. I took this position because I am chosen by the Republican party as the representative of National issues, and by no act of mine shall any question be obtruded into the National campaign which belongs properly to the domain of State politics.*"—James G. Blaine.

And the following came from the National platform of the Republican party in 1872, never rescinded but often reaffirmed by subsequent State platforms, even that of Iowa, and which dates the retirement of much of the moral element of the party:

"The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of a resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either State or National Government."—*National Republican Platform 1872.*

When Mr. Raster, editor of the *Staats Zeitung*, was asked what he meant by this resolution (for he was its author), he answered:

"I have to say that I wrote the sixteenth resolution of the Philadelphia platform, and that it was adopted by the Platform Committee with the full and explicit understanding that the purpose was to discountenance all so-called temperance (prohibitory) and Sunday laws. This purpose was meant to be expressed by reference to those rights of the people which had not been delegated to either National or State Government; it being assumed that the right to drink what one pleases (being responsible for all acts committed under the influence of strong drink), and the right to look upon the day on which Christians have their prayer-meetings as any other day, were among the rights not delegated by the people, but reserved for themselves."

Though each man possesses his own individual conscience in this matter, yet such is political fellowship that some men are in a position to voice the political conscience of a party. Here is a voice from Maine that bears peculiar weight:

"The tax on spirits oppresses no one. It is paid only by the consumer.

"The amount yielded by the tax on spirituous and malt liquors last year was over \$86,000,000. On the basis of the census of 1880 it would pay about \$1.75 per capita to all the people. The tendency would be to increase rather than diminish this ratio as time wore on. The plan which I have suggested, makes the tax on spirituous and malt liquors a permanent revenue to all the States."—James G. Blaine, 1882, in Philadelphia Press.

And how do you like this?

“As to the matter of taxing the liquor-traffic, the platform speaks plainly, and gives satisfaction to all parties. The liquor-men were satisfied with the Scott Law. This I know to be the case in Cleveland. They did not want it repealed, and will be satisfied with the passage of a similar law now.”—*Hon. Amos Townsend, chairman Republican State Convention of Ohio, 1885, and wholesale liquor-dealer of Cleveland.*

The following proves that the above voices the moral standard of the Republican party in Ohio as late as 1885:

“We denounce the Democratic party for the destruction of the Scott Law, and the consequent increase of the burdens of taxation upon all property and the abandonment of an annual revenue of two million dollars; and while recognizing the people's right to amend the organic law, we demand the enactment of such legislation as will give us the most practical and efficient measure for the regulation and taxation of the liquor-traffic attainable under the Constitution.”—*Ohio Republican Platform, 1885.*

And this was no advance on its position in 1883.
Proof:

“We approve of the taxation of the liquor-traffic for revenue, and for the purpose of providing against the evils resulting from such traffic.”—*Ohio Republican Platform, 1883.*

In 1882 the Cook County (Ill.) Republican platform contained the following central plank—and as goes Cook County so goes the State:

“We utterly condemn and denounce, as a measure essentially unrepUBLICAN and despotic, the adoption of a Con-

stitutional amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of fermented and distilled beverages, and instruct our representatives in the State Legislature not only to resist and oppose all propositions to destroy individual freedom by prohibitory laws, but especially to resist and oppose every effort to submit to a vote of the people any Constitutional amendment like those lately adopted in Kansas and Iowa.”—Cook County Republican Platform, 1882.

In 1888 the National party, after first obtaining the consent of Sheridan Shook, a noted brewer, who headed the New York delegation to the National Convention (which by the way was presided over by another liquor-man from California, and one of the wealthiest in the Nation) passed the following: “The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.” But this was the tail end of things in that Convention. Sheridan Shook christened the plank “catnip-tea.” Whatever its significance, it is not to conflict with the reaffirmed Raster resolution, nor with the “personal liberty” declaration that went before in the preamble,—thus its alpha and omega. I am quite confident that I speak the truth about this matter.

Upon general principles, the liquor-traffic holds to the friendly relation of the Republican party as expressed in its National platforms, and ratified by the party in the States. Proof:

“Our National organization is twenty-four years old. During all those years the Republicans have

been in power in National affairs, I submit to every candid brewer, be he Democrat or be he Republican, if the brewery interests of our country have not grown to immense proportions; if our rights and our interests have not been protected, fostered, and encouraged by our Government."—*Secretary Outhout, of Brewers' Congress, Rochester.*

Another:

"Saloon-keepers regard Foraker with favor, of course. He declares for taxation and regulation, and some form of regulation is necessary. There is nothing unreasonable in our platform, and it ought to satisfy the trade and everybody else, except those who are strictly for prohibition. I do n't see how a prohibitionist can stand on the Republican platform. The party is not in favor of prohibition."—*A. Haworth, liquor-dealer of Crestline, O.*

Still another:

"I think a majority of the saloon-keepers throughout the State want the Scott Law to stand, simply because they claim to get some protection through it."—*John J. Abbihl, President of Saloon-keepers' Association.*

Stronger proof still, and more of it:

"The present political situation was discussed by members present, who, large in numbers, represented the sentiment and convictions of the whole Association. The report of the Executive Board was read. It recommended the indorsement of the whole Republican ticket—State, county, and legislative ticket. The Democratic record of the past two years was denounced in the severest terms. The report was unanimously adopted."—*From Report of Cincinnati Liquor-dealers' Protective Association.*

Still our enemies testify :

“ Our Republican platform is satisfactory. A temperance plank would certainly meet with defeat at our election.”—*Geo. Stettfr, Brewer, Toledo, Ohio.*

Query: Do politicians and the Republican press accept this friendship ? Let him that runs, read :

“ *The brewers' interests in Ohio are in no more danger from a Republican than from a Democratic administration.*”—*Chicago Tribune.*

No one can gainsay the statement that the following is good Republican authority :

“ There is one mistake that some of the temperance men, who are sincere and honorable, are liable to make. It is that of insisting that the Republican party must adopt their great and only principle, or brave their steady animosity.

“ The Republican party is not going to adopt their great and only principle, and that is all there is of it. *The Republican party has its distinct work to do, and that of the Prohibition party is not a part of it. This might as well be recognized now as hereafter, and action taken accordingly.*”—*Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, January 14, 1885.*

The same paper says of the interest of politicians in this matter :

“ John Sherman, Judge Kelley, and other Republican speakers, appealed powerfully to the beer vote to stand by the Republican party, on the ground that it had protected the ‘beer industry.’ ”

Governor Foraker said :

“ We know that the principles of regulation are eternal and will stand. And to those principles of

regulation and taxation of the liquor-traffic, be it known of all men, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS UNALTERABLY COMMITTED."

And the following is good Republican authority:

"Do you think that a Republican Legislature would submit a prohibition amendment to the people?"

"No, sir; the Republican party is done with the temperance question."—*Richard Smith, staff Cincinnati Commercial Gazette.*

The party press seems in perfect accord with the stump orator of the party. Let us read:

"There have been many insults hurled at the heads of German Republicans in Ohio—that they would refuse longer to vote with a party which favored heavy taxation to saloons, and that henceforth they would vote with the Democracy. The vote of the German wards of Cincinnati proves the falsity of the charges. The great bulk of German voters are in the Republican party from principle, and will not be turned from their allegiance by an appeal to appetite or any low prejudices."—*Inter-Ocean.*

Chicago speaks again:

"Prohibition must be prohibited in the Republican party."—*Chicago Tribune.*

But what strange voice is this from Iowa?

"The Republican party in Iowa is not only not of the Prohibition party, but it is not a party of prohibition, and it will not be. On that peg you may hang your hat. It is willing to give the present law a fair trial—that is until the Legislature meets."—*Davenport Gazette.*

Here is another, speaking apologetically:

“There are hundreds of saloons in Cincinnati and other Ohio cities that are substantially Republican club-houses.”—*Commercial Gazette*.

The East joins in the chorus of the West, and its guttural song is this:

“So far as the Republican party is concerned, its course is clear. Let it be distinctly understood that we have no terms to make with the Prohibitionists; that we believe that the legislation they seek is a gross and unwarranted outrage on the liberty of free citizens, and that, as Republicans, we shall oppose them to the end.”—*Brooklyn Times, Republican organ of that city*.

So this mad bull of partisan selfishness, after tossing prohibition over the fence, still continues its pawing and horning the earth. The colored man, who found himself lifted over the fence by methods familiar to a mad bull, saw the monster still pawing and bowing and gesticulating, after a mad bull’s fashion, on the other side, and said to him: “Yer need n’t be so perlite about it; ye did it a perpus, and ye know ye did.” If the conscience of this Nation finds itself on the outside of the liquor-soaked parties, and the bulls of these political Bashans should be making polite political gesticulations, we will sing our song back in response from the other side of the fence: “Did n’t you do it? You know you did!”

I am quite confident that the election of Mr. Harrison to the Presidency and Mr. Morton to second place, contain no contradictions to my position.

With wine freely used at the White House and

the Shoreham, where liquor is dispensed freely in this property of the Vice-President, the Administration keeps in friendly and touching distance, equal to telephonic connection with the rum-power, from which political orders are received.

The Chicago *Tribune* represents C. W. Fairbanks, of the Whisky Trust, as saying after Mr. Harrison's election:

“The trust is not to be disturbed by the recent election. The whisky men are satisfied with the advent of the Republican party to power. It had taxed them and kept them taxed, which they had not objected to, *and all beneficial legislation that had protected the capital invested in the business had come from the Republican party.* The trust would meet November 15th, at Peoria, and the certificate-holders seemed satisfied with the existing state of affairs.”

On the occasion of Mr. Harrison's appointment of F. J. Kissel, a wealthy liquor-seller of Ogden, Utah, as one of the National representatives on the World's Fair Commission, the *Mida's Criterion*, a liquor paper of Chicago, said:

“We are pleased to note that the President of the United States has recognized the important interest to which the *Criterion* is devoted, by the appointment of F. J. Kissel, of Ogden, Utah, to the World's Fair Commission as one of the National representatives.”

The same want of sincerity toward the rights of the colored man is seen in the utterances of its platforms. If the liquor vote is more potent for party success than that of the freedman, “success,” which is the standard of political morality, will justify the

abandonment of the colored man. In 1885, in Music Hall, Cincinnati, I listened to an able speech from a great man. A correct report of the address appeared in the city papers next morning. On the Southern question the following illustrates a point:

“The Republican party has been in power during twenty years' reign of peace. If during all these years the party has utterly failed to secure for the black men of the South a free ballot, is it at all strange that the people decreed a change at the last election? . . .

“That there has been bulldozing in the South no one denies; that ballots have been wrongfully suppressed there all admit; but I think every unprejudiced citizen will also agree that there was cast as free a ballot and as honest a count at the Presidential election last year throughout the South as there was at the State election in Ohio in 1883.

“In 1872 the Republicans carried nine of the fifteen Southern States, and polled 1,066,421 votes. In 1884, with the Democrats in power in all the Southern States, the Republicans polled 1,250,198, showing an increase of 183,777 votes. In the North, during the same period, the Republican vote increased 1,071-134, while the Democratic vote grew 1,331,922, giving a gain over the Republican vote of 263,788. Was this Democratic gain in the North the result of bulldozing? *Iowa has lost during this time* in her Republican majority about 40,000, while Michigan's magnificent majority of 60,000 in 1872 was cut down to a plurality of less than 4,000 in 1884; and Massachusetts' 74,000 majority for Grant in 1872 dwindled down to 9,935 less than nothing in 1883.

“So the Field-marshal [Murat Halstead] had better swing around in the direction of the Old Bay State, and put a stop to the cutting down of the Republican

majority there. . . . To-day the former Republican States of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York each have Democratic governors. Is all this the result of bulldozing in the North? . . . What did the Republican party do in the last campaign to help the colored men of the South? Did it send speakers there to plead their cause? No. The truth is, the party, in its anxiety to secure the 'whisky vote,' has for years abandoned the colored men of the South, and, grand and glorious as its record was for many years, it has at last got down to the level of the Democracy, having no issue that rises above a mere scramble for office."

We have heard Republican orators taunt the Democratic party with moving up and camping on ground occupied the year before by the Republican party, and that this was hopeful that, by good Republican example, some good might yet be looked for from the Democracy. But the scales are turning. Whisky is also a political factor. The liquor-traffic entered politics, and so must temperance people follow. If you wish to successfully hunt game, you must go where the game is. The Republican party, seeing the vantage-ground of the Democracy, put in its own platform, in 1872, the Raster resolution. So it now seems that where the Democracy camped last year, the Republicans camp this. If the Democrats say in 1884, "We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty" (the "citizen" and "individual" always meaning the liquor-dealer), the Republicans must not be one whit behind, and so, in 1888, must pitch their tent on the old Democratic

camping-ground of 1884, and declare, "*We reaffirm our unswerving devotion [the Raster resolution of 1872 in mind] to personal rights and liberties of citizens in all States and Territories in the Union,*"—"persons" and "citizens" meaning the same in the Republican platform of 1888 that they meant in the Democratic platform of 1884, with the added specification that the principle of "personal liberty," etc.—that is dram-selling or saloon-license system—shall apply "*in all the States and Territories of the Union*"—and liquor-men so understand it. I ask, with wealthy liquor-dealers largely composing committee on resolutions, leading delegations to State and National conventions, and presiding over the same and appointing the committees, if we have not strong ground for the position I have taken in this argument? Who will doubt the Republican orthodoxy of the following exponent of political science, as applied in these latter days?

"The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. . . . This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme."—*Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, late President pro tempore of the United States Senate.*

We are disposed to think that Mr. Ingalls means what he says, when in Buffalo, in 1888, fifty-four of the seventy-seven Republican caucuses were held in saloons, and, the country over, the saloons dictating caucus action.

SO MUCH FOR THE REPUBLICANS. NOW WHAT
HAVE WE TO SAY FOR THE DEMOCRATS?

Truthfully the people were well up in prohibition preceding the advent of the last quarter of a century. We may simply ask, What party was in power when the statutes were enacted? and thus fix the credit mark.

In the days of slavery the gerrymandering turned upon that question because it was the issue (though tried to be obscured by the tariff issue) that determined the "ins" and "outs." Now it is the liquor problem, since slavery is gone, though tariff would obscure the real issue. Since the liquor problem drives the professional politician to "all sorts of twisting and turning" in the manipulation of the "machine," the proposition is susceptible of proof that the position of both old parties is the same. Much depends upon the local issues, but each is careful not to "butt pa." In New York State, in 1888, the anomaly was seen, here and there, of the portrait of Harrison, Republican candidate for President, and Hill, Democratic candidate for Governor on the same banner. While many reasons were assigned for this, the most satisfactory to me was that, on the whisky question, the New York Democracy and the National Republican party were in harmony; therefore New York went for Hill and Harrison. Other reasons were, such as Hill "selling a Presidency for the Governorship" (*New York Tribune*), and Miller (Republican candidate for Governor) running on the high-license idea that he "might keep down the prohibition

vote,"—which means that he did not expect to be elected himself, but could be of service in the election of a Democrat, and thereby minify prohibition. It is only the repetition of the old saying that "politics makes strange bedfellows." Mr. Clarkson holds that one benefit of politics as a profession is its great variety of fellowships. The appearance of the average old party State or National Convention* will impress one with the variety of fellowship; but as to the "benefit," there is some doubt. With brewers and other dealers for State and National chairmen, and "brethren" from the Churches as delegates, the "fellowship" presents variety.

But as to the Democracy, on comparative grounds we are at a loss what to say. Mark Twain says that there is a shadow over his life, never to be removed. There were twins when he was born. By an unhappy accident, one was drowned, and the family had always been unable to tell whether it was he or the other one. On the question involved, when defeat comes to one of the political twins, it is hard to tell which has gone down, Republican or Democrat. Anyhow the one still surviving resembles exactly the one that went down; and so the "shadow" still hangs over us. It is,

* The Mississippi State Constitutional Convention, August, 1890, organized by electing Judge S. S. Calhoun, of this city, president. *Judge Calhoun led the whisky forces in the struggle of 1886 in Jackson, figuring prominently as a member of their Executive Committee, and making many harangues for "personal liberty."* President Calhoun has shown his friendliness to the liquor interests by appointing ten of the fifteen members of the Committee on Temperance from the ranks of the whisky delegates.—*The Voice.*

however, all the same to the liquor-traffic. It does n't care which, so the "trade" goes on. Democrats may go, and Republicans come, but the liquor-traffic goes on forever.

The Democratic party is also inconsistent. In 1860 its Douglas platform said (second resolution): "The Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on questions of Constitutional law." In 1884 it said in its National platform: "We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty." But, Mr. Democrat, the Supreme Court of the United States for a half century have quite uniformly declared that the "sumptuary laws" to which you allude are "Constitutional laws." What are you going to do about it? In one breath you say you will, and in the next you say you won't. What must the people think of this "you will and you won't" policy? The first thing you know, the people will have just ground for saying you are like the verdant youth from the country who ate his first meal at a city hotel. He related his experience when at home. He said: "The waiters axed me would I have tea or coffee, and I told them I would." That is about as definite an idea as we can get out of your planks of 1860 and 1884.

The Democratic party in Ohio said in its platform:

"The Democratic party is, as it always has been, opposed to sumptuary legislation and unequal taxation in any form, and is in favor of the largest liberty of private conduct consistent with the public welfare and the rights of others, and of regulating the liquor

traffic and providing against the evils resulting therefrom by a judicious and properly graded license system. Under the present Constitution of Ohio such a system is forbidden, and taxation is limited to property, and required to be measured by its money value. We, therefore, are in favor of a Constitutional amendment which shall permit such system, and we promise its submission for its adoption by the people if the necessary three-fifths of every branch of the next General Assembly be composed of Democrats."

What was the relation of the Democracy in Congress to the Blair Bill? Let the press of the country attest. One says:

"The Blair Bill was one that simply called for a commission of Congress to investigate the effects of the liquor-traffic. It passed the Senate time and again. It was not a radical or a 'fanatical' bill. It did not propose to prohibit or even restrain the traffic. It merely called for an inquiry into the traffic—simply that, and nothing more. And yet the bill was last winter again killed in the Democratic House by a Democratic committee."

My good-natured Democratic friend, read this:

"In 1883, in the State of New York, when Judge Maynard, who was known as a temperance man, was nominated on the Democratic ticket for Secretary of State, the Democratic brewers and saloon-men bolted the nomination and defeated him by 18,000 votes, while the rest of the Democratic ticket was elected."

When, in prohibition Iowa, the people said, by 37,000 majority, that they preferred prohibition, what did your party say? Read for yourself:

"1. We approve of and adopt the principles of the late Democratic National Convention.

“2. We declare in favor of the repeal of the Prohibitory Liquor Law of the State of Iowa as unjust and hostile to temperance.

“We pledge ourselves to favor and use our best efforts for the enactment of a license law of \$250, with power to increase the same from \$250 to \$1,000, as may be deemed best for the public interest in the various localities of the State, as expressed by the legally constituted authorities of such localities.

“4. We pledge ourselves to favor, and use our best efforts for the enactment of, a law which shall punish as criminal the manufacture and sale of all adulterated liquors, such adulteration being the direct cause of intemperance and destructive of the health of the people.”

You said, also, my Democratic hearer, in your National platform in 1884: “We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual rights;” and this you reaffirmed in 1888.

And how do you like the sound of your Indiana Democratic platform? It says:

“We are opposed to any Constitutional amendment relating to the subject of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating and malt liquors.”

“Do you accept the “fencing” of your own Hoadly in Ohio. Hear him:

“I conceal no opinions; I dodge no issues; I shirk no responsibilities. There is no fence in Ohio that I propose to straddle. I am ‘not for nor against license.’ I am against prohibition and for license. Everybody in Ohio knows that.”

And what do you think of his message to the Legislature? Read:

“Believing that the evil against which we contend is in the abuse, not the use, of intoxicating drink, I

would not vote for such an amendment, and can not advise its submission to a popular vote." Again, he said, in his speech at Zoar: "I want no man who intends to vote for the Prohibitory Amendment to vote for me."

And Illinois is not a whit behind Indiana and Ohio. Its Democracy says:

"The Democratic party is opposed to all sumptuary legislation, and will firmly oppose the enactment of prohibitory laws as being fanatical in emanation, destructive of the rights of freemen, vicious in principle, utterly inefficacious for good, and fraught with manifold evils."—*Illinois Democratic State Platform*.

I should not have left Hoadly so soon. In accepting the nomination for governor he said:

"The party that believes that the proper method of legislation relative to the absorbing question of temperance is by license, such as affords protection and at the same time operates against the evils of the abuse of the traffic, will win; and upon this platform, which I doubt not is written in your resolutions, I accept the trust."

WHICH?

On this all-absorbing issue, "What shall be done with the liquor-traffic?" the question arises, Which of these parties shall we choose? My answer is, *Neither*. If the conscience of Christ is yours, I am quite certain that you can not affiliate with either. They are twin servants of evil. Even the proposition "between two evils choose the less" is denied you. One says: *Resolved*, That six is a half a dozen. The other denies, and *Resolves*, That a half dozen is six. If you

can tell these twin propositions apart, then can you judge between the two old parties in their relation to the liquor-traffic—simply different ways of saying and doing the same thing.

When Judge Foraker and Hon. Thomas E. Powell were nominated as candidates for the governorship of Ohio by their respective parties, the following plank appeared in their platforms:

Foraker, Republican.

"We point with just pride to the enactment of the Dow Law in fulfillment of the promises of the Republican party, and we pledge ourselves to such further legislation as may be necessary to keep abreast with enlightened public sentiment on this question, to the end that the evils resulting from the traffic of intoxicating liquors be restrained to the utmost possible extent in all parts of the State."

Powell, Democrat.

"We declare in favor of a proper regulation of the liquor-traffic, and believe it to be the duty of all good citizens to aid in reducing to a minimum the evils resulting therefrom, and to this end favor the submission of an amendment to the Constitution providing for the license of such traffic."

Judge Foraker declared that the principles of taxation and regulation are eternal,—which meant that his party was committed forever to the Democratic plank on this question.

Some one represents the Prohibition party as double-shotted, and hitting the Demo.-Repub. liquor beast with the following effect:

Democratic Squeal.

"The Prohibition party is simply a scheme to defeat the Democratic party by playing into the hands of the Republicans."—Thomas L. Williams, Chairman Tennessee Democratic Executive Committee.

Republican Squeal.

"The Prohibition party is entering into partnership with the Democratic party to defeat the Republicans."—Hon. J. G. Blaine, in his speech at Farmington, Maine.

The National Democratic Party Convention, in 1884, declared :

Democratic Plank in 1884.

"We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty."

In 1888 it said :

"We reaffirm the platform adopted in 1884."

Republican Plank in National Platform, 1888.

"We reaffirm our unswerving devotion . . . to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union."

Can you tell one of these twins from the other? If one of them gets "d(r)owned" at the next Presidential election, can you tell which? If you can, you will be driven to the necessity of the boy who drew the picture of a horse, namely, to write beneath it, "This is a horse." So of the whisky twin that may survive the d(r)owning, that you may know which it is, write, "This is the Republican party," or "This is the Democratic party."

The subserviency of political parties to the liquor-power, and through it to the criminal class, is a tremendous danger that now threatens the country and its institutions.

In the Cincinnati district fourteen candidates for the Legislature on the Republican ticket certified their acceptance of the demands of the liquor-traffic. In Chicago forty-two of the forty-four of the Democratic aldermen, elected in 1890, were indorsed by the Liquor-dealers' Association. Quoting from the *Central Christian Advocate*, St. Louis, April 23, 1890, we are told that the New York *Evening Post* recently introduced the public to the twenty-eight Tammany leaders, who do about as they please in New York politics. The

account is this: "They are a worse lot than we had supposed. One has been convicted of murder, another has been on trial for murder, but acquitted, four are professional gamblers, five have been keepers of gambling-houses or low dives, nine have been liquor dealers, others have been pugilists and 'toughs;' and so on, with not a suspicion of honesty and decency, to the end."

The account goes on to say: "Some startling facts are also in circulation in regard to the Chicago city government, which cast a baleful light on the future of our large cities. In the organization of the new City Council by the mayor, in nineteen of the twenty-one committees the majority are Irishmen, and fifteen of the committees have Irish chairmen. This does not come about on account of proportional excess of Irish voters; for the Germans have nearly twice as many, and the American-born are four times as many. It is done by a combination of the saloons and ward politicians. And we shall not be able to reform it so long as the better class of citizens are wheedled into maintenance of party politics in municipal elections."

This arraignment may be made of Democratic and Republican party alike. Says the *Commercial Gazette*, Cincinnati, Ohio: "There are hundreds of saloons in Cincinnati and other Ohio cities that are substantially Republican club-houses." One need only refer to the files of St. Louis dailies to see that, for political success, the Republican party threw out its net and dragged the lowest dens of infamy and crime, cheek by jowl with Anarchists and Communists, that the

scramble for office might assure success. So we may add the old philosopher's advice to a lady of State, who stood before a mirror, painting and powdering for the best effect. Placing a note, along with a human skull, in the hand of a servant, he sent the message: "Tell her, though she paint herself an inch thick, to this complexion she must come at last." So with all the powdering and painting imaginable, and with pretensions to better things by which we have been deceived, because behind the same lay concealed political selfishness and corruption, we bear testimony to this complexion of moral rottenness, stench, and death, to which parties have come at last. Let us, in the name of God, of righteousness, and purity, accept the admonition: "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you; and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

Why this burning appeal, Paul? Let him answer: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." If it be true that "ye can not drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils," how can you

"drink the cup of the Lord," and then go and vote "the cup of devils?" "Wherefore"—for this reason—"come out."

I am quite confident that not only does God approve, but that he also appoints this separate identity and commitment to the right.

Falling into this line, hear what some of our great and good statesmen have said.

Thus speaks *Daniel Webster*:

"New parties will arise, growing out of new events and new questions; but as to those old parties which sprang from controversies now no longer pending, or from feelings which time and other causes have now changed or greatly allayed, I do not believe that they can longer remain."

Hon. W. H. Seward is not a whit behind Webster. Hear him:

"I do not know that the Republican party will always, or even long, preserve its courage, its moderation, and its consistency. If it shall do so, it will secure and save the country. If it, too, shall become unfaithful, as all preceding parties have done, it will, without sorrow or regret on my part, perish as they are perishing, and will give rise to another, truer, and better one."

We recognize the hero with the courage of his convictions in these brave words of Charles Sumner: "Where principle is, there is my party." A man must have lived in those days to fully appreciate all that it meant for Salmon P. Chase, late Chief-Justice of the United States Supreme Court, to utter these

words when and where he did, in the years of his struggle for reform:

“Vote for principle, vote for right, and you need not fear the consequences. A vote given in accordance with the dictates of conscience is not lost; its salutary influence, a noble testimony for truth and freedom, will be felt, whether the candidates for whom it is given are elected or not. *Those votes only are lost which are given for unfit men in violation of principle.*”

Why should Prohibitionists be accused of being out of harmony or out of line with these great men, when John B. Finch says: “No party will ever do right, if you give it your vote when it does wrong;” or when Clinton B. Fisk declares: “When the public conscience sleeps and snores under the soothing lullaby of loyalty to party, right or wrong, good men should pause and protest.”

Is it political heterodoxy for John P. St. John to say the same of saloons that our anti-slavery heroes said of slavery?—namely: “The saloon-keeper is as good as the saloon he keeps. Saloons are as good as the law that authorizes them. The law that authorizes them is as good as the Church deacon who votes for the law.” Who can deny the correctness of Joseph Cook’s position when he hurls, from “Boston Heights,” thunder-bolts kindred to those heard in other years: “As no political party that was on its knees to the slave-power deserved support from honest, patriotic citizens, so no political party that is on its knees to the whisky-power deserves support from men of intelligence, conscience, and honor.”

BUT WHY A THIRD PARTY?

1. Because a measure so important as the enforcement of prohibition must be in the hands of its friends. Rhode Island is a striking illustration of the failure of old-party prohibition. The man who is constituted the official for enforcement of prohibitory law, and yet the active agent in defeating prohibitory amendments, is not a likely representative of the prohibitory principle.

2. A third party is a necessity because of its non-sectional character and issue. The unification of the country is a greater probability under the administration of a new party than under either of the old parties. Should either Democrat or Republican party espouse the cause of prohibition, it would be unfortunate for the country. Both are identified with sectional strife, and whatever issue either may espouse, the sectional caste, discordant in effect, is sure to attach itself. The unification going on between the late divided sections is in spite of either party, and independent of the same. The present relation of old parties, and the character of issues between them, especially as relates to sectional bearing, constitute a National disturbing element. Contrast the influences at work, the fruit of which is National unification and public confidence, without which there can be no stability of Government, and consequently little commercial confidence. Prosperity may exist under these disturbing influences, but it is with a constant state of unrest.

Railroad enterprise, commerce, industries and industrial expositions, Churches, fraternities, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, education, and many other agencies, of National life and unity, have clasped glad hands over every chasm, so that a few years' experience attests the throb of peace and prosperity. All this is lost sight of by the average politician, as if of small import compared to party success; and in order to party success, radical issues must be sought, more for the sake of an issue than for any benefit that may come to the country. The proof of party insincerity is frequently seen in the fact that an exchange of principles occasionally occurs, so that what was a Democratic plank this campaign, may be a conspicuous Republican plank in the next, and *vice versa*. Political folly and insincerity thus befog the public mind.

It is not uncommon to hear prominent politicians say that this country needs only two political parties. But when two disagree, are we to accept the political absurdity that we are to be satisfied with an everlasting quarrel? or shall we concede the correctness of the principle of arbitration based upon the necessity of a third party coming in as an important factor?

I thus hold that this third-party business is not unlike other interests among individuals. *A party of non-partisans, but patriots to principle, is the necessity of the hour.* Why? The people composing it are arbiters of conflicting sentiments and policies in the public mind concerning the ends of government touching vital interests. Two men disagree. They

agree to arbitrate. A *third* is chosen, constituting the *essential third party in the settlement*. The law is, that each and all shall abide the judgment of the board.

Public sentiment is divided. Out of this is the most natural resultant; namely, the evolution of a new party, a third identity. They arbitrate by a board representing in its previous affiliations every party, and I am disposed to abide the decision. Before me are Prohibitionists, who are ex-Democrats and ex-Republicans. They instinctively "get together" on this all-important and vital question. They are as distinct a fellowship as it is possible to find. Thus grouped, Republican, Democrat, and Prohibitionist, with all desirous to do the right as God gives them to see the right, with one accord committed to the eternal principle of right as divorced from all affiliation with doubtful policies and fellowships, it is not difficult to guess the conclusion. When these three thus agree as touching any one point, the rational conclusion is, that they are not far from the right political kingdom.

But, mark you, this conclusion is not reached by majorities, but by right principle. My good Methodist class-leader met me, and said: "Well, Brother V., how is prohibition?" I replied: "All right." He replied: "My idea of this, after all, is local-option prohibition." Said I: "My dear Brother H., I love to hear your Christian experience. You tell me how much you love Christ and his example. May I ask, is the Christ you serve a 'local-option' Christ?" He seemed puzzled for a moment and then said: "I never thought of it in that way." I replied: "Do you

think that the Christ you serve has submitted to the world his character and truth that shall be locally optional with the community, whether these shall be the dominant rule of life and conduct? In other words, do you understand that the Christ you serve teaches, by precept and example, that it is a correct principle, political or otherwise, for a majority to vote a moral evil on a minority of any community?" He confessed he had to surrender the argument. The ultimate of what I may term the dictum of the law of right will force any man to stand from under this principle of unrighteousness; that is, that numbers fix and define the right; and compel the distinction of a "peculiar people, a royal priesthood, zealous for good works."

But did a third party ever accomplish success?

I answer, Was ever success accomplished without a third party? Was prohibition in Maine, Kansas, Iowa, the Dakotas, and elsewhere, a success without a third party? No. This position would be subject to the charge of assumption did I not accompany it with proof. At Indianapolis, there is published what is called the *Indiana Christian Advocate*. Rev. T. A. Goodwin is its editor. Somewhere he intimates that his paper is helpful to the Republican party. It is therefore a Republican paper, and its editor assumes to speak for the Republican party by advocating its principles and voting for its candidates. It gives me pleasure to quote such authority in proof. Referring to prohibition in Maine, Kansas, and Iowa, this good Republican said:

"Of Maine it is only necessary to say that prohibition was obtained long before the present parties

existed, and before the liquor league became the organized political power that it now is, *yet it was reached substantially as it was in Kansas and Iowa more than a quarter of a century later, by the temperance men making it a paramount question at their elections for years before they obtained a Legislature that would pass the law.* In Kansas its history is this: All along during the war, and subsequently, the Democratic party was the avowed ally of the saloons, sometimes without ostentation, but mostly by open avowals in platforms and otherwise. During all these years, the temperance people, most of whom were Republicans, petitioned and begged the Republican party squarely to antagonize this feature of the Democratic party; *but it persistently refused, vying with that party in its subserviency to the liquor-power for the votes it controls.* Having exhausted the power of petition, *in 1874 the Prohibitionists nominated a separate ticket.* It received only 2,277 votes. In 1876 the Prohibitionists met again, and nominated John P. St. John as their candidate for governor. It being a Presidential year, and Mr. St. John being an aspiring politician, while a most thorough Prohibitionist, he declined the race, hoping to bring the Republican party to espouse prohibition, but promising that unless the Republicans should squarely antagonize the Democrats in their continued hostility to prohibition, he would be their candidate at the next gubernatorial election in 1878. *The Prohibitionists would not, however, disband;* but under promises from the Republicans and the pressure of a Presidential campaign, they received only 393 votes in 1876. Nothing daunted, they put their ticket in the field again in 1877, and it received 914 votes. *Meanwhile the Prohibition sentiment was constantly growing, but the Republicans were doing nothing to secure prohibition.* This was the condition of affairs early in 1878, when the Prohibitionists began to organize with a view to the nomination

of Mr. St. John, according to previous arrangements, and Kansas was made alive with Prohibition meetings from school districts to Prohibition camp-meetings, with the enormous tent which afterwards became historic, and Mr. St. John was a prominent figure everywhere.

"Before the time fixed for the Prohibition State Convention, the Republicans held their nominating Convention, put prohibition in the platform, and nominated St. John for governor, and the Prohibition party as a distinct organization died, having captured the Republican party, or having been swallowed up by it, and prohibition soon followed. So much for the history in Kansas.

"Some twenty-five years ago the people of Iowa adopted a very excellent prohibitory law, which was rendered worthless a year or two later by exempting beer and wine from its provisions. Temperance people remonstrated, *but all political parties were deaf*—the Germans and the saloon vote had to be conciliated. Thus matters remained until 1875, the liquor interests growing more and more insolent every year, and politicians of every school more and more subservient; *the Democrats holding and the Republicans courting their influence and vote*. Driven to desperation, the temperance people held a State Convention on the 29th of June that year, the Democrats having held their Convention a week earlier, at which they openly denounced prohibition. The Republicans were to hold their Convention the next day. These temperance men resolved to petition the Republicans to antagonize the Democrats on the temperance question, and say something in favor of prohibition, *but the Convention adjourned without saying a word on the subject, or nominating a man in favor of it*. This was the signal of revolt, and the Prohibitionists at once put a ticket in the field with Rev. J. H. Lozier as candidate for

governor. Only 565 votes were returned, with probably as many more not counted. Nothing daunted, the Prohibitionists put their ticket again in the field in 1876, when the returns showed only 318. *The Prohibitionists seeing no way of deliverance except through a separate organization, while one party was hostile and the other not friendly, again nominated their ticket, when the returns showed a vote of 10,639 with a well ascertained reserved force that would be brought into action at any moment thereafter, unless terms were made with the Prohibitionists. The result was that the Republican Convention of 1878, without any begging or beseeching by the Prohibitionists, put strong prohibition sentiments into the platform, and nominated a ticket accordingly.*

"It is said that prohibition 'has our most profound respect, sympathy, and approval.' A jump from 318 to 10,639 in one year was what did it, and the movement is known to this day in Iowa politics as the 'Jessup revolt.' This position of the Republican party in 1878 of course drove off all the whisky element of the party, while it was not sufficiently pronounced to draw to its defense the ten thousand temperance Democrats that were known prohibitionists. The result was the fusion of the Greenbackers, the liquor league, and the mass of the Democrats on the free-whisky platform—any thing to beat prohibition—and the Prohibition party carried the State by a plurality of only 10,967. The straight Democratic ticket got only 1,302 votes, so thorough was the fusion against prohibition. *The successful party was nominally called Republican, but as there was but the one issue, prohibition, it should have been called the Prohibition party.*

"In 1879 the Democratic party resolved, as usual, against prohibition, only with more than ordinary vehemence, while the Republicans not only 'reaffirmed' their position of 1878, but 'hailed with pleasure the

success of reform clubs,' and proposed to submit a Constitutional amendment to the people, thus carrying the war into Africa, and burning the ships behind them. About forty Prohibitionists met in the State Convention that year, and tried to nominate a ticket; but they could find no one that would run on it, and then and there the little band that had done a grand work died, and was buried in sight of the promised land. That year the Prohibitionists of Iowa, after a hard fight on that issue alone, carried the State by a plurality of 72,515. *It was called a Republican victory, and so it was, but the Prohibitionists did the voting and furnished the issue.* In 1880 the Republican-Prohibition party threw their Prohibition banner defiantly to the breeze, side by side with the tariff banner, and all other distinctively Republican issues, while Democrats intensified their free whisky resolves, and the campaign in Iowa was fought for Prohibition not a whit less than for Garfield, and the result was a Prohibition plurality of 79,406—a very handsome gain on the handful of 'Lozierites' who, only five years before, numbered, counted and uncounted, not 1,200. . . . *In each case they brought politicians to terms by refusing to train any longer under the flag of the saloon power. In each case they were slow to separate themselves from their party; but when driven to it, they went with determination.*"

But subsequently the Republican party dropped its alliance with the third party in Iowa, and "weakened" on its record. Seeing that the edict had gone forth from the liquor power, "No more Iowa foolishness," the party said in a subsequent year (letting itself down easily):

"The Republican party of Iowa, while a sturdy upholder of the right and duty of the State to regulate the

traffic in liquor by such methods as will suppress the most of its evils, has never made the support of prohibition a test of party fealty. It pledged its honor to enact, and afterward did enact, a law which the people of Iowa, at a non-partisan election, fairly held, had ordered by an unquestioned majority that came alike from the votes of Republicans and Democrats. We declare now for a fair and thorough trial of that law, that it may have time to demonstrate its efficiency or prove its inefficiency before it is repealed to give way to some other honest and earnest method in the line of finding the true and successful system of dealing with the liquor-traffic. We arraign and condemn the Democratic party of Iowa for its action in declaring for a \$250 license, compulsory on every community, regardless of local opinion, for legalizing again in Iowa the sale of whisky and all other alcoholic liquors, and for removing all restrictions from the saloons, giving a freedom in the liquor-traffic that has not existed in Iowa for thirty years."

Subtracting the usual arraignment of the Democracy, it has been generally conceded that this action was an apology for work done and a search for escape from it. Still descending lower and lower in the scale of subserviency to the liquor-power, the party in Iowa makes the final drop to its knees as late as June of 1890, at its State Convention in Sioux City. There it asserted its antagonism to prohibition as any part or parcel of the policy of the Republican party. The Platform Committee rejected this resolution :

"Resolved, That we do unflinchingly stand by the prohibitory statutes of Iowa, passed in obedience to the expressed will of the people, and for their complete enforcement."

If it had halted at this point, the failure to indorse prohibition would not have provoked more than ordinary suspicion in the eye of the average Republican. But it resolved, at the high behest of anti-saloon Republicans (which, being interpreted, means into-saloon Republicans) as follows:

"Resolved, That we, the Republicans of Iowa, in convention assembled, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of the National Republican party, and we make no other test of party fealty to the Republican party of Iowa."

This commits the Iowa Republicans to the "personal liberty" plank of the party in 1888, and to the anti-Sabbath and anti-temperance Raster resolution of 1872 to 1884. This completes the chain, namely, the harmony of all the States with the liquor policy of the National Republican platform. Thus the exultant language of the *State Register*, the leading exponent of Republican doctrine in the State of Iowa:

"The Republican platform adopted yesterday, starts off with this broad and satisfactory statement: 'We, Republicans of Iowa, in Convention assembled, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of the National Republican party, and we make no other test of fealty to the Republican party of Iowa.'

"There it is, a plank so broad and strong that every Republican, whether he favors prohibition or license, can stand upon it. The Republicans of Iowa are not setting up new tests of party fealty which the National Republican party does not recognize. That plank will be worth thousands of votes to the Republican party this fall. IT IS THE ONE THING FOR WHICH THE LIBERAL [WHISKY] REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN STRIVING."

But—beg pardon, friends—I was speaking to the point, Did a third party ever accomplish success? Let us return to the text. How was it in Iowa? I contend for the principle, by whatever name known. *Prohibition* was the point aimed at. It must come through the ballot-box. Republicans and Democrats alike, for the moment laying aside the old party machinery and old party affiliations, organized in one body for prohibition. This organization was possessed of the whole paraphernalia of a political machine. It extended from State to district, from district to county, from county to township, and, in many instances, from township to school district. It had a "single eye," therefore its whole body was "full of light." Thirty-seven thousand majority attested the efficiency of this machine. What was this organization but a political force, based on right conviction, born of right principle? But when the boon was in hand, loyalty to party undermined this organized devotion to principle, and back went Democrat and Republican alike to his old party affiliation, like the dog to his vomit and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire. The old catering to liquor influence in politics repeats itself. Thus we have Prohibition (?) Democrats and Prohibition (?) Republicans, the one averring in party action the desire to return to license, and the other resolving no other test of party fealty than loyalty to the National platform, which reaffirms the Raster resolution, and pronounces in favor of "personal liberty [saloon liberty] in all the States and Territories of the Union." With ~~as~~

tonishment we say: "To this complexion it has come at last!"

What do we find? That in Iowa neither party is committed to the principle of prohibition; and because of this, the achievement of prohibition is constantly put in jeopardy by the application of the National party action to the affairs of the party in the State. What would have been political wisdom in Iowa? This, that when, by the organization of the State for political action affecting the liquor-traffic, independent of old party alliances, they should have said when the boon was secured, if this policy is so potent for the success of Constitutional prohibition, let us maintain it and refuse to return to old conditions that now endanger our cause. The State virtually organized a *third party*, and marched to victory. Had it maintained the organization thus committed, and, as such, elected its congressmen, governor, legislators, etc., the machine of enforcement would have been in the hands of its friends. So much for a third party.

But no; political unwisdom prevails. How? Let the parties, after the old fashion, rival for office, honor, and emoluments; but let the people organize a State Temperance Alliance for the enforcement of law, putting their hands into their own private pockets, paying the bills, and performing functions that belong to the State and its officiary. This, my friends, is the degeneracy against which Washington warned the country in his parting words as he retired from public life. Collections from the people for the detection and prosecution of the Haddock assassins!

The State of Iowa should bankrupt its treasury into which the people pay their taxes, that criminals like these should be hunted down and punished, rather than, by extra burden, the people should pay the bills out of private means. The fact that there is a State Temperance Alliance in any State for the enforcement of law, or such an Alliance in any city, is proof positive that the administration in power is too corrupt or too weak to administer the affairs of state. If corrupt, the party should give place to better men; and if too weak, the efficiency should be provided in the increased force of the machinery of government, for which they pay through channels of taxation.

Practically, it was a third and independent party that carried prohibition in Iowa. Who will deny that the coming out of all conscientious voters from old party affiliation, and devotement to principle, will accomplish like results again. The confusion of political action comes from fusion with parties managed in the interest of the liquor-traffic. "If thine eye be double, thy whole body is full of darkness. If the light in thee become darkness, how great is that darkness!" "Come out from among them, and be ye separate." Separateness in politics is just as imperative as separateness in religious life; namely, that we have no fellowship whatever with the unfruitful works of darkness. And plainly, in this as in all that has gone before, a principle commanding itself to the conscience will not be pushed to success by its enemies; it must be pressed forward by those committed to it. *Hence the Prohibition party.*

But you say: "The smallness of your numbers is against you." But numbers sometimes grow. We never drive out of our homes the baby boys and girls because of their smallness. We nurture and culture them, and they will step into their intended places after awhile. Will we do the same with principle, and with the number committed to it? A principle is not large or small according to numbers attached. A principle is as big with one advocate as it will be with a billion. The question is, what of the principle? We read of a man who found a pearl, which is apt to be a small affair compared to a farm, but he sold all his possessions for it. Compared to a clod in size, a diamond may be an insignificant thing; but, for all that, it is more valuable than a clod. "Who hath despised the day of small things?" asks a prophet. We may answer, The politicians, voters, and parties who look at the bigness of things, and not at the intrinsic moral worth.

I challenged Colonel J. M. Atherton, president of the National Protective Association of Liquor-dealers, to put a man on the platform at the Lake Bluff Free Parliament to defend the traffic. Here is his answer:

"I. VILLARS, Esq.:

"*Dear Sir,—Your letter of December 31st, addressed to Mr. J. M. Atherton, president, has by him been referred to me for answer.*

"We know of no one at present to whom it would be convenient to go to Nashville and enter into a debate as you suggest.

"*We would, however, respectfully refer those who are*

anxious for information on this subject to the late decisions of the people of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the various other States which have voted on and overwhelmingly repudiated prohibition. In these States the question was debated to its fullest extent, especially by the Prohibitionists, and every facility was given them to put their side of the question before the people. This they did without stint, and the verdict was rendered in accordance with the best judgment of some of the most enlightened of the Commonwealths of the Union.

“We would also refer them to the sermons of such ministers as Phillips Brooks, Dr. Savage, President Eliot of Harvard College, Dr. Peabody, Dr. Carpenter, Howard Crosby; and to the utterances of such eminent men as Ex-Governors Gardner, Russell, and Rice, of Massachusetts, under whom prohibition was tried and found wanting. We would also refer them to the recent election in Iowa, when the Republican party, which heretofore has had as much as 80,000 majority, was beaten because it did not throw overboard the policy of prohibition.

“We further submit in all candor, that if these decisions would not influence or satisfy an inquiring mind, such mind would be incapable of reaching a fair conclusion.

“Very truly yours,

“C. C. TURNER, Secretary.

“LOUISVILLE, Ky., January 3, 1890.”

Say nothing of the press subsidized by liquor that prohibition in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, the Dakotas, and Nebraska, may be defeated, it is not good logic that a question of right shall be determined by those voting for or against it; in other words, 70,000 graves, 60,000 criminals, 2,000,000

hungry children, thousands of broken hearts, blighted hopes, wrecked fortunes, and nameless and numberless ills justifiable,—and if you do n't believe it, we refer you to Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Dr. Crosby, Dr. Savage, Dr. Brooks, and J. M. Atherton, president of the National Protective Association of Liquor-dealers. If that does n't convince you, then what will?

Apply this principle of moral and political science to anything else, and you will brand it as a wild absurdity. For instance, disease is threatening the health and life of the people. But public sentiment is divided, and largely on one side. There is a breach between the doctors and the people. The doctors are in the minority, the people overwhelmingly in the majority. Take it to the ballot-box, and settle it there. What think you of such a settlement? But I must cast my ballot, and how shall I determine which way to vote? As a sensible man, I will vote with the doctors. Why? For reasons that are right. They are specialists, having made diseases a study. They have had experience in the treatment of the same. Naturally I go over to the side of the doctors. Colonel J. M. Atherton would say that the overwhelming voice of the people at the ballot-box should convince a man, and that if this does not, then it is difficult to know what will!

In this reform for the obliteration of this disease in the body politic, where do we find the doctors—the specialists, who have from the beginning examined into the nature and import of this disease?

With a unanimity, the exception to which scarcely deserves a mention, they are with the Prohibition party—indeed are the charter members of it, and determine, after long observation and experience, that this action is the necessary thing to do in the treatment of the disease in hand.

A party is a means to an end ; and if it fails to serve that end, what further claim has it upon the votes of those who have the suppression of the liquor-traffic in view? The only answer I have heard at this point is, that there are other ends to serve and other problems to settle equally as important as this. I know of no end to serve in politics so great as this, and I know of no one problem perplexing the public mind that will settle more problems than this one, when it is itself settled. It touches the affairs of State, home, and society at every turn. Settle it, and settle it right, and ninety-nine hundredths of labor, race, and other problems will be easily disposed of.

Parties are essential to government, and the party in power is the government. It is important to know for what the machinery of government is used by the party that now has its manipulation. If it is discovered that the ends of government have ceased to be a terror to evil-doers, and praise to them that do well, we may well begin our serious inquiry as to why this is so.

Ladies and gentlemen, I trow that this is the solution of much of our dilemma ; namely, the capture and hopeless imprisonment of the machinery and pur-

pose of government by the enemy who now demands political tribute from the prisoner. The prisoner is the party in power.

I have met this statement, that if I vote for a man who is personally a temperance man, I so far vote a temperance ticket. No, sir—no more a temperance ticket than if your candidate was an old sot. (I refer now to old party candidates.) In voting for a candidate for the Legislature, no matter what he may be personally at home, when elected his personality must surrender to the dictates of the party to which he belongs. It is what the man stands for politically that passes under review. He must be politically, in legislative halls, what his party is, and if he respectfully declines to sneeze when his party caucus takes snuff, he is politically disloyal, and he must be politically decapitated, never to be considered by his party as available for purposes of candidacy. To illustrate: When the Illinois Legislature had before it the Home Protection Bill, the member from my county was a good Presbyterian elder. The women who thought the home deserved as much protection as the barn-yard, found in him a friend to their bill. But the *caucus* of his party had not yet spoken. When it did speak, it decided that it could not espouse the bill, as the party would be answerable to liquor influence if it did. The women were now in doubt how our good Presbyterian elder would stand since the caucus refused to espouse their bill. They said: "Doctor, how will you vote now?" He replied, "I propose to keep my promise, and vote for

'Home Protection,' and against the saloon;" and he did. But what did his party do for him? They relegated him to political obscurity, though one of the best of citizens, and from that day to this would not entertain the mention of his name in connection with the nomination to any office high or low. Why? When the caucus took snuff he refused to sneeze. That crime will consign any man with political aspirations to political oblivion, who refuses to do its bidding. In that Legislature Democrats and Republicans alike stood up nobly in defense of the home against the saloon. Not one of them has been returned. The very autographs of those brave men are on file on the liquor records at Washington, and they are politically black-listed, no matter which party they belong to. In the Georgia Legislature one hundred and twenty members defended and voted for local-option prohibition. All save twenty were left at home. North or South, Republican or Democrat, the unpardonable sin of either, *on this particular question*, is to refuse to sneeze when the caucus takes snuff.

Who succeeded my good friend the Presbyterian elder in the Legislature? My Sunday-school superintendent. The editor of the local paper came to me and said: "Dr. Villars, if you persist in your third-party foolishness, and defeat such a man as Dr. C., what can you expect for prohibition from the Legislature?" My Sunday-school superintendent was a total abstainer, voted against license at home, and was a first-class illustration of a man who would say

to me: "I am as good a temperance man and prohibitionist as you, but—." I said to the editor: "Suppose you elect my good brother and Sunday-school superintendent to the Legislature,—what can I expect, or you either, from him for prohibition, when there in his seat, more than we could expect from an old sot?" His eyes protruded in astonishment as he replied: "The difference is that between a sot and a sober man." I replied: "In politics there seems no such distinction." They elected him. When the caucus took snuff, he was a first-class sneezer. When his time was out, did they relegate him to political obscurity? No; they renominated and re-elected him. What then? He is such a respondent sneezer that the caucus sustained him for speaker of the House, and he is promoted. In that position my Sunday-school superintendent has a first-class opportunity to prove that he is as good a prohibitionist as I am. Here he can attest that if anything can be expected for temperance legislation we will get it. How? Thus: The speaker of the House has the appointment of various committees. One on Temperance or Prohibition legislation is to be appointed. If he is as good a temperance man as I am, he will now so constitute that committee that when a right sort of bill goes before it, it will be returned for favorable action. Does he do it? No. Why? The precedent of his party is that of high license, and he dares not run athwart that precedent. What does he do? In a committee of fifteen he places upon it *ten* high-license men (two of whom I am informed were in the liquor business),

and *five* who favored submitting a Constitutional amendment to the vote of the people. So, when Mr. Lamont, our Prohibition member, presented his submission measure, of course there were those ready to move it referred to the appropriate committee. If it had gone before that committee, when would it have been first heard from? The day of judgment, and not one second before. Why? Ten to five—don't you see?—against the measure, and that, too, by the appointment of my Sunday-school superintendent, who "is as good a temperance man as I am, but—he doesn't vote that way." I should say he did not. Now, I ask if it were possible for an old sot to have perpetrated a greater outrage upon sober-minded people than that? How do we account for this state of things? In this way: You think (some of you do; thank God! many are getting their eyes open) that when a candidate is running for the Legislature, he is your servant. This is true while he is a candidate. But when he is elected, he ceases servitude to you, who are for pretense called *constituency*. If he hobnobs now, it is with somebody removed from the *constituency*. Whereas he was, as a candidate, your servant (though he was, as such, foisted upon you by the hidden hand of the machine), he is, in the Legislature, the servant of the caucus of his party, which, in turn, is the servant of the liquor-power, which in turn is the servant of the devil. Hence the devilish succession of old-party politics when removed from the people. What shall we do about it? But one answer: Have the courage of your convictions, and

vote for a party that, when it calls a caucus, will stand by the right, and caucus for prohibition.

But what can a party do without a majority? Much, every way. Parties, however desirable, are not succeeding by majorities in every instance. It is the plurality vote largely, and not majority, that elects; but, compared to the whole, this plurality is a great minority. The Republican party in its whole history elected but one President by a majority of the popular vote, and that was in Mr. Grant's second election. I voted for him, and thought (and I knew no better) that it was a fresh and great outburst of the spirit of patriotism, born of love for the Union, intensified by the war. I have learned since that it was, instead, a fresh outburst of whisky and beer. The Democrats nominated that rankest of Prohibits, Horace Greeley, and the whole liquor fraternity turned from the Democratic party to Mr. Grant.

Who elected Salmon P. Chase, a Free-soiler, to the United States Senate? There were but two Free-soilers in the Ohio Legislature, and the Whigs and Democrats, being equally divided, could elect no one. These two men did the Nation a good service by demanding S. P. Chase as United States Senator.

The Illinois Legislature voted the winter through, almost, to elect a United States Senator, and Mr. Logan was the conspicuous candidate. But a tie prevented. At last a Democratic member died, and the Republicans stole a march on his district, and elected one of their party in his stead, and General Logan went to the United States Senate by *one majority*. Had Mr.

Lamont, a Prohibitionist, been in that Legislature instead of the one following, history might have recorded where *one man*, standing up for the right, could have said who should or should not go to the United States Senate, and have sent one who would have been heard with no uncertain sound in defense of God, home, and native land.

There is a position where a small factor in politics may become a mighty force for right, and that point has been attained by the Prohibition party, and from this on will command the respectful consideration of the true statesman.

Fellow-citizens, in concluding this lengthy address, permit me to say that you throw no vote away that is cast for principle. You are planting for the harvest-time. Do n't be deceived by the cry, "If we can't get what we want, let us go for the best men, and run them on the old-party tickets, and vote for them." But in politics what does the "best man" stand for? For what his party represents. Eighteen hundred years ago Satan took the best man ever born, and would put him on the throne of the kingdoms of earth, provided he would do the bidding of the caucus of his Satanic majesty. It is no new thing for consummate wickedness to prefer the representation that can be given it by the so-called "best men." Hence Colonel Atherton's appeal to Doctors of Divinity. Hence, also, the instruction of "the trade" that there be no defense of the saloon in Nebraska and elsewhere, but to get some man of good standing to come to the defense of high license. The political dilemma is

this: Let the Republican or Democratic party turn against the liquor-traffic, and defeat is certain. Let them turn their back on prohibition, and defeat is quite as certain. But they cater to the traffic so far that contracts have to be made for the purpose of deliverance of certain goods called ballots, and no contract satisfactory to the liquor-traffic can be satisfactory to the conscience of Christ in you.

Throw away our votes! I would much prefer that my vote represent my conscience, though cast for an unsuccessful candidate, than to cast it for a successful candidate, the standard of whose success is his election, and thus give it outright to Satan.

You say I throw away my vote. Why do you say that, when I have really elected my conscience to an office of peace with God and of conscious approval of his law? But what do you do who vote the old-party ticket and elect your man? If your candidate is your servant while a candidate, and yet after election is the servant of the caucus, which is the servant of the whisky ring, which is the servant of the devil,—what have you done? Thrown away your vote? Ten thousand times worse,—*you have given it directly to Satan!* I wash my hands from all such political complicity.

It is political dust thrown in your eyes that good men will redeem your party from its bondage to the drink-traffic. Here and there a candidate for county superintendent, county treasurer, county clerk, State treasurer, or State superintendent of public instruction, is nominated—indeed, frequently so—but what

do these men have to do with the liquor-traffic? Nothing. The song of approval passed over the country when Mr. Harrison nominated Mr. Wanamaker, the great Sunday-school man, for Postmaster-General; but what does that office have to do with the liquor-traffic? If he had made him Commissioner of Internal Revenue, where he could apply his gospel instruction to this National evil, it would have been better; but how striking the fact that those friendly to the traffic have been placed in position to deal kindly with it!

Is it not time that this deception come to an end? We are living in perilous times. It is no defense to say that, in a certain sense, the country is rich, prosperous, and happy—that danger is not near. In the grandeur of wealth, art, culture, and progress, the greatest monarchies of earth have found their ruin,—rotteness at heart while the extremities, the limbs, may be hanging with full-fledged foliage of exterior beauty. The loss of our Christian Sabbath to a quiet and uninterrupted worship; the banishment of God's Word from public education; the open, defiant attitude of the liquor-traffic, that persists in having seven days in a week and twenty-four hours of every day as its own; the attendant dominance of this influence in politics; its overt rebellion against the wholesome administration of law; mobs in every city; anarchists on the alert; and all this arising out of the midst of the traffic in liquor as the flames of fire and volumes of smoke ascend from the crater,—it is well to consider the problem in hand, and do it promptly and act firmly.

Lord Macaulay said:

"As for America, I appeal to the twentieth century. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire, was in the fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged Rome came without her borders, while your Huns and Vandals will be engendered within your country and by your own institutions."

Upon this Rev. A. A. Phelps properly comments:

"The 'institutions' which, according to Macaulay, contain the seeds of our National ruin, are already here. And they are multiplying at a fearful rate. They run by day and by night. They are planted in the North and in the South. Their victims number the old and the young, the male and the female, the rich and the poor, the black and the white, the educated and the illiterate. They are destroying our health, muddling our brains, wasting our resources, blasting our morals, sucking the heart's blood of the Nation, and putting the reins of power in the hands of political tricksters and red-handed villains. Rum rules, and hell is jubilant. Both of the political parties are dominated by this defiant liquor oligarchy. And Satan must chuckle with hellish glee when he beholds thousands of ministers and tens of thousands of Church members, with conscience so paralyzed and partyism so all-controlling, that they habitually vote with rum-suckers and rum-sellers!"

"This state of things reveals a terrible demoralization. Nor is this all. *Christianity is becoming a political crime. A man of stamina and moral worth stands no chance of election to any high office. When a*

vital issue is up, the heavens grow black with the smoke of prejudice, the dust of deception, and the volleys of slander, blackguardism, and outrageous lying that continually ascend from the pools of political corruption. When men organize for the suppression of great crimes and the promotion of the country's dearest interest, they become the objects of the most bitter persecution. They are loaded with reproachful epithets, boycotted, and sometimes brutally murdered. After spending time, money, and manly energy in the agitation of a great question, they are coolly informed on the day of election that they can not vote for their favorite. A Detroit alderman stated that *no Prohibitionist would dare vote in his precinct!* This is certainly a lovely condition of affairs.

"The corruption of the ballot-box is one of our threatening perils. That one should be denied the privilege of voting his honest convictions, or ridiculed for doing so, is simply barbarous. That one should be allowed to repeat his vote for the sake of carrying a party measure is not a whit better. That every vote should be honestly counted and faithfully reported, is the first demand of true democracy. If, after all the expense and trouble of conducting a campaign, *we can not have our votes counted*, we might as well let our whole governmental machinery collapse. If the *people*, to whom great questions are submitted for decision, as in the case of Michigan, *are not allowed to voice their opinions at the ballot-box*, this Government is a failure and this Republic will meet the fate which Macaulay predicted. When I think of such rascality, I get ashamed, indignant, and religiously *mad!* Is there any remedy? Why is not *every* party in favor of such provisions as will protect the purity of the ballot-box? Is it the fault of our Prohibition friends in not watching the count? Or is the whole arrangement so loose—after running one

hundred and ten years—that nobody can tell whether the country is ruled by the people or by an unprincipled ring? *We must have a political regeneration or be nationally damned.*"

Down in New York State there is a young lady whose limbs were severed just below the knees by a drunken father suddenly starting his reaper in order to frighten her. To-day, when she meets you and looks up into your face, it seems the gaze of a soul that is in a constant attitude of prayer that the manhood of the country should put down the liquor-traffic. Womanhood is politically dismembered. She can weep and pray.

I was sitting in the Union Depot at St. Louis, when a woman, pale and frantic with fear, came rushing into the sitting-room, shouting, "Shut the door! shut the door!" A mother inquired, "What is the matter?" for she instinctively saw in the face of the other a mother's dread and fear. The response came with a thrill that stirred every one, "The tigers are out; shut the door!" I stepped to the door, and there I saw that Robinson's Menagerie, moving out of the depot at rapid speed, had been derailed, and two or three car-loads of wild beasts had been emptied on the platform, and tigers and lions were walking about. I shut the door, and the defenseless women and children were safe. From ocean to ocean a deep, heart-rending cry is heard: "Shut the door!" Motherhood cries, and motherhood responds, "Shut the door!" What is the matter? A political menagerie—indeed two of them—have been derailed. From the

cages wild beasts in human form have possession of the "platform." They prowl about in hellish mien, regardless of woman's woes and tears. They have tasted human blood, and so palatable that great considerations are willing to be paid to continue the draught.

It is said that, when the lioness gives birth to cubs, the foe of all others she must keep from the door of her den is the kingly beast that fathered them. Were it not for her courage, he would pass the threshold and bite his own to death. Great God! has it come to this, that when the manhood of this Nation begets his kind, and the mother walks into the jaws of death that a man may be born, she must come to the door of her home and cry, "Shut the door?"

As for me and my house, we will serve God best by serving the redemption of our race from this dominant sin and bearing my part in bringing about that millennial condition of sobriety and purity, when we may say of this enemy of God and all good; "The wicked has ceased from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

"No fearing, no doubting, thy soldier shall know,
When here stands his country, and yonder her foe,
One look at the bright sun, one prayer to the sky,
One glance where your banner floats glorious and
high,—

Then on, as the young lion bounds on his prey;
Let the sword flash on high, fling the scabbard away;
Roll on, like the thunderbolt over the plain!
We come back in glory, or come not again." *

* See Appendix A.

LECTURE VI.

THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND HIS DUTY.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS:

This being purely a Christian theme presented for your consideration, it is proper and right that I select a portion of God's Word as a foundation upon which to construct the argument. I therefore read from Genesis xviii, 19: "For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him."

It is possible that, at the conclusion of my remarks, you may pay me the compliment that an old minister paid to a young preacher. The young man had preached on Sabbath what was, in his own estimation, a very superior sermon; and on Monday, fishing for a compliment, asked the old minister what he thought of it. With a look that contained much unspoken advice he replied: "Your text and sermon can get married without any lawful objection, they being no kin." I will not promise you that the text and address for this occasion shall escape even a compliment like that.

I am always glad to see perfect good-humor in the discussion of questions affecting public interests. Intolerance is bad in anything save toward sin.

“Fanaticism” is often only another way of saying, after the fashion of politicians over eighteen hundred years ago, “Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning hath made thee mad;” and the Apostle’s noble reply could be fitly given to cover many a like case in our day: “I am not mad, most noble Festus [politician], but speak forth the words of truth and soberness. For the king knoweth of these things, before whom I speak freely; for I am persuaded that none of these things are hidden from him; for this thing was not done in a corner.”

The Church of Christ, our civilization and kindred institutions, are monuments to Him against whom the cry was heard: “He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils.” For this he would have his disciples know that “if they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, much more will they call them of his household.”

There is many a Saul of Tarsus breathing out threatenings against earnest and conscientious people, thinking they are doing God’s service while they charge that those whom they persecute are doing the work of the devil, who will soon be found among the persecuted, determined to know nothing but the reform they shortly before despised. There is not a good and great man, at whose grave stands the granite shaft to perpetuate an affectionate memory, but in the days of struggle to plant reform was called “fanatic,” “fool,” “hare-brained theorist,” and many other epithets more harmful to him who uttered them than to him against whom they were uttered.

Some seriously, and seemingly conscientiously, object to discussion in the pulpit, and by the pulpit, of questions relating to affairs of state. But if it can be shown that God's messengers have no word to sinning governors, rulers, legislative bodies, and political parties managed in the interest of wrong, but only to individual sinners, then will I be silent. If otherwise, then must I declare the whole counsel of God against sin wherever found. I believe the ministry as divinely commissioned to take a political party by the collar as any ordinary sinner, and pressing it closely into a corner, look firmly in its face and say: "Except ye repent, ye shall, like other sinners, perish." If I accept the example and precept of patriarch, prophet, and apostle, they were what in our day measures up to the standard of honorable mention—that is "political preachers"—having to do with affairs of the Governments. When the *West Tennessee Whig* sharply criticised the Rev. Dr. Kelley for accepting the candidacy for governor on the Prohibition ticket, the editor of the *Issue* at Nashville replied after this fashion:

"If Methodist preacher Kelley has no right to fight the devil in politics, has a Methodist layman all right to rent property for saloon purposes? 'Mighty 'fraid that Kelley will hurt God's cause.' He will hurt some people's saloon rents."

I, myself, have looked on with amazement when editors would print lectures to preachers for "dabbling in the muddy pool of politics," and marveled at the grave-yard silence of the same when laymen in the

Church could be guilty of all sorts of political complicity with sin, and not a word of editorial ire.

The charge of narrow-mindedness in bringing an issue down to "one idea," is often made. Well, while the charge has no foundation in fact, still, if it were true, it would simplify things; particularly so when the settlement of this one problem, this "one idea," would go very far in settling every other problem in the public mind.

Jesus Christ said: "The light of the body is the eye [not two eyes—man has but *one eye*]; if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be *evil* [that is, double], thy *whole body* shall be *full* of darkness. *If therefore the light* [single eye] *in thee be darkness* [evil or double eye], *how great is that darkness!*" The same principle applies in the case of the "double-minded" man; he "*is unstable in all his ways.*" For this and other reasons, Christ exhorts the plucking out of the right eye, the severance of the right hand and foot, that you may possess moral and spiritual wholeness or singleness with which to go into life, and not double worldliness and wickedness with which to be cast into hell.

When down in Central Indiana, I met that old man, now decrepit and infirm, entitled to the confidence of no one except his kinsfolk—I mean old Moss-back Expediency. Moss on his back of a century's growth or more, he was a sight to see. When I insisted on devotion to principles which he assented to as true, and come boldly out for the right, he responded: "Correct, sir—principle right, all right;"

but he peeked through his shaggy mane, and shook his moss-covered coat as if a chill had struck him, and settled down into an immovable posture, with the remark that ended the argument, saying: "My name is Expediency!" This man was a preacher. He sang hymns, offered prayers, and preached sermons on *Expediency*. He quoted Paul to Timothy, and justified expediency. This thing of quoting Scripture to sanction fellowship with evil-doing is a trick of Satan. It was the proposition of "expediency" that Satan made three times to Christ in the wilderness, and Christ resented it by Divine authority. Paul, in Romans iii, 8, said that he had been accused of doing evil that good might come of it. He said it was a scandalous report, and the damnation was just of those who did it. No expediency there.

To-day some hold a doctrine, politically, of sinning that grace may abound, and call it "expediency." To all such Paul says to-day as centuries ago, "God forbid." Paul opposed the "expediency" that would drink of both the cup of the Lord and of devils. That there could be fellowship between the temple of God and idols was an expediency Paul abominated. How can men to-day, accepting the truly apostolic doctrine of expediency, drink the cup of the Lord at the communion-table, and next election vote for the cup of devils, and then claim justification on grounds of expediency? For shame! Why not strip yourself of this moss-covered foolishness, and accept, instead of this cringing, cowardly moss-back doctrine of "expediency," the bold words of Paul to the young

preacher, Timothy, "*Keep thyself pure; be not partaker of other men's sins*," though these sins should come clothed with the respectability of your political party. It is just as great a sin against God to be thus guilty of partaking of other men's sins as it is to fellowship individually corrupt and vicious men.

On arriving in a city for a week's lecture, a good brother who received me made me feel as if I were an embarrassing visitor, and wished I had not come. By way of explanation, he said, "Brother V., we are all agreed as to the principle of prohibition, but are all in a tangle of opinion as to the methods"—as if a halt should be called until all the people could come to an agreement as to the *method* or *mode* of things. Suppose the Emancipation Proclamation should have been withheld until there could have been perfect harmony as to the "methods" of making it practical. Questions affecting the social, civil, and political status of the freedmen, compensation, and a score of other questions, would have intruded, and confusion worse confounded would have resulted. But while the political heavens were filled with lowering clouds of confusion and war, Mr. Lincoln cried, "Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward," and they obeyed, and four millions stepped from bondage to freedom, and from servitude to citizenship. *Prohibition*—only another term for emancipation—is the word. Issue the proclamation, and then debate non-essential issues when we have made a "dry" landing on the *terra firma* of National Constitutional prohibition. When the smoke of battle shall have passed

away, we can then see, by a survey of the field, the conditions that will enable us the more intelligently to accomplish essential, subsequent work.

I have had a short but pleasant residence in the South since the war. A Mrs. M., of Tennessee, fell heir to one hundred slaves. She warned her friends against the consequences of secession. They heeded her not. At last Fort Sumter was fired on. When the tidings reached her she took a piece of chalk and wrote on the front of her mantel, "Negroes for sale at fifteen cents per dozen." So the late Supreme Court decision* seem much like the "Dred Scott" rendering, that shall ripen public sentiment, that shall draw the enemy's shot upon our Sumter, and then may every heir to the traffic write upon mantel and door-posts, "Distilleries, breweries, and saloons for sale at fifteen cents per dozen."

But to the text. I am quite sure at this moment the compliment is in order, that text and sermon can get married without lawful objection; for up to this point they are not akin. What is meant in the text by "I know him?" I know Abraham. What did God know of Abraham? That he was a man of *faith*. What is meant by Abraham being a man of *faith*? That he was a man of *moral fidelity*; that is, *fidelity to moral principle*. What did God further know of Abraham? That he would command his children and his household after him; and *they shall keep the way of the Lord*. What is the way of the Lord? That which God saw in Abraham. What did God see in Abraham? *Fidelity to moral principle*. *The "way of the*

*Original package decision, which had just been rendered.

Lord" is therefore fidelity to what is right in the sight of God. In the affairs about to be committed to Abraham, what use would he make of this fidelity to the right? Answer: "To do justice and judgment." Why were justice and judgment necessary? Answer: "That the Lord may bring upon Abraham that [of best and noblest character, material prosperity, and, above all, *the Seed that should redeem the world*] which he had spoken of him."

What did all this mean? God was about to plant two institutions in the world for human society and government, the Church and State. This incident and these words of God concerning Abraham mark the epoch of the founding of these two institutions. One is as divine as the other. They were instituted at the same time and by the same God, and the material for both is a *qualified material, not mongrel*. The first object that God lays his hand on for such institutions is a *man*. But he is a *qualified man*. He has marks of distinction that constitute the moral, mental, and material make-up of foundation responsibility and work. The conditions and qualifications in Abraham are such "that he [God] can do for him that which he hath spoken of him." Otherwise God himself could not prosper him.

God does not only desire a *man of moral fidelity* for such an important place, but he desires an *institution*, as well, to be at the foundation of Church and State. What is that institution? It is the *home*. This institution, at the head of which stands the man, must be like that man; namely, an institution of fidelity to

moral principle. My judgment is that the first institution ever founded of God is in his estimation the best, and the best can safely be at the foundation of the next best. That first and best institution is the *home*. Whatever importance we attach to all other institutions, let it be known that the home is supreme and above them all in the Divine estimate. Destroy Church and State, which are built upon the home; yet if God has one home kept in tact as that of Abraham's, he has yet the material out of which the true Church and State are built. Napoleon said: "The need of France is mothers." The need of every land is the true home—the home as God instituted it; and such a home is an impossibility without the true mother. Our national life reflects our home-life. I may be in your community but a few days when I can tell you of your home-life. This principle applies universally. In India a boy is never considered a man until he has whipped his mother. It occurs to me that we are not so far removed from Hindooism in America when we accept the standard of citizenship that outrages motherhood, and puts in jeopardy her life and her offspring. I think all those conditions, both in Church and State, that put pure womanhood to a disadvantage, savor of the lingering odor of heathenism as much as your clean garments betray you when you have been riding in a smoking-car. We should draw upon the apothecary of revelation for better perfumery.

If therefore the home is the foundation of Church and State according to God's first institution, which

has never been altered we have a right to conclude that anything, by whatever name known, that is an enemy to the home is also an enemy to God, an enemy to the Church, and an enemy to the State. I know of nothing that answers to this character more than the American dram-shop.

G. R. Van de Vater says: "Let us never forget that God made *home* among the first things he created. Before commerce and trade, laws and statutes, thrones and altars, there were men and women, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, lovers and friends, hearthstones and homes."

I can not give the author, but some one beautifully says:

"Home is the watchword of the world's civilization and the foundation of its prosperity.

"There can no more be a durable civilization without homes for its people than there can be a circular wheel without a center.

"Neither the idea nor the fact of home can flourish alone. When the two dwell together in unity, then is there, for the first time, the elements of an abiding civilization and high social happiness.

"By the home, society is saved from *vagrancy* of thought, affection, and effort.

"A nation without home, if such a thing can exist, is not worth any sacrifice on the part of its people.

"The nation that helps its people to homes of their own, and then exists for their protection, will have right, divine and human; for its existence will be sunshine to the world and destruction to its enemies.

"If we would make a civilization great, give its people homes; teach the necessity of loving, build

ing, and defending them. Construct all else about, and with reference to, these sacred precincts; then will the people think, plan, work, sacrifice, and die for such a civilization."

Against this divinely instituted home the saloon stands arrayed. I know many a saloon-keeper, whose name might be mentioned in this connection, who would go to the death to protect his own home against the impurities, social degradation, poverty, and sorrow that his business brings to other homes. What does he certify but that his business is an enemy of the home—homes as sacred as his?

To illustrate: The farmers of Illinois secured legislative protection for the barn-yard, so that their cattle were protected against Texan fever, and the sheep against scab. Even the birds and fish were protected—except "birds of prey." At that same session the mothers of the State sought protection for the home, thinking its precinct as sacred as the husband's barn-yard. Did they secure it? No. Not a protest from the liquor-traffic against protection of four-footed beasts, birds, and fish; but when "home protection" was sought, there came a protest as from hell, as if to say, "Boys and young men are as necessary to our traffic as wheat is to run a mill," and the bill was defeated. Strange logic that, which will protect all except "birds of prey" in the feathered tribe about us, but in human kind expose the pure and beautiful, with the distinct understanding that it is with a view to the advantage of human "birds of prey."

There passed under my eye, the other day, this

appeal, that stood out like an advertisement, and it is in line of my argument and confirmatory of the same:

WANTED—YOUR BOYS.

“The saloon must have boys or it must shut up shop. Can’t you furnish it one? It is a great factory, and unless it can get two million boys from each generation for raw material, some of those factories must close up, and the operatives must be thrown on a cold world, and the public revenue will dwindle. ‘Wanted—two million boys’ is the notice. One family out of every five must contribute a boy to keep the supply. Will you help? Which of your boys will it be? *The Minotaur of Crete had to have a trireme full of fair maidens each year, but the Minotaur of America demands a city full of boys each year. Are you a father?*

“Have you given your share to keep up the supply for this great public institution that is helping to pay your taxes, and kindly elects public officials for you? Have you contributed a boy? If not, some other family has had to give more than its share. Are you selfishly voting to keep the saloon open to grind up boys, and then doing nothing to keep up the supply? Are you using your ballot to protect your boy?”

I think, my friends, you can clearly see that my point is well taken.

My next point is to see, since the dram-shop is the enemy of the home and therefore of God, Church, and State, what relation to this enemy the Christian citizen sustains. The supreme issue to-day is plainly stated: *The Home vs. the Saloon.* “Choose ye this day whom ye will serve.”

A plain question presents itself: What are we going to do about this squarely drawn issue between the home and saloon?

Some entertain a Missouri Compromise-line called "High License," which, being interpreted, means *high-lie-sins*. But what is a compromise? Your dictionary will define it. But, mark you, *any question involving a moral principle can not be compromised*,—it must be settled. And it will never be settled until settled right, and never settled right until settled as God would settle it, and never settled as God would settle it until the liquor-traffic is buried out of sight. I think the good brother's position was correct when he said that he hoped, when the liquor-traffic was buried, it would be face downward, so that on the resurrection morning, if Gabriel's trump should happen to wake it, the more it would scratch the deeper it would get.

This question involves moral principle, and therefore rules out compromise. Where do we obtain moral principle? From the moral law. Who is the author and giver of the moral law to govern human conduct? God. If this be true, and God can not look upon sin with allowance, how can you, who believe in God and his law, entertain "allowance" of sin, when you suggest compromise,—for what is compromise but certain degrees of "allowance" to each party involved? A compromise of a question involving moral principle is a compromise of moral principle, which is a compromise of moral law, which is a compromise of God; and this is the sacrilege or blasphemy of

which the whole license system, be it high or low, is guilty.

God does not give law to be bandied about in such unholy alliance. So it is that God would *know you* as he did Abraham, and, knowing, determine upon the condition of your fidelity to moral principle (and not by the compromise of it), whether he can use you for foundation material upon which he can erect the sacred structure of Church and State, that, through such, justice and judgment may be accomplished. If so, then can God do much for you as well; for the law applies to you as well as to Abraham, affecting individual, Church, and State alike.

Speaking of compromises reminds me of an item of history that is of interest to us all. When Mr. Grant was President of the United States, there came up an item of business between our Government and England for settlement. It was occasioned by the Alabama matter. Ordinarily, a resort to arms would have been the method suggested; but Mr. Grant, like every great and brave soldier, was a lover of peace more than war, and, thinking that we had seen enough of carnage, suggested the importance of arbitration. Lord Beaconsfield was the man in power next the throne at that time. When President Grant's suggestion reached his ear, I was deeply impressed with Lord Beaconsfield's reply: "Certainly arbitrate; unsettled questions have no regard for the peace of nations."

I turned that expression over and over, and looked at it through and through, and was profoundly impressed with the magnitude of its meaning and with

the universality of the application of the principle. Not only is it true that unsettled questions as between nations have no regard for the peace of nations, but it is also true of man's relation to man, and supremely true in its application to man's relation to God. If this relation is not right, it will be a disturber of peace until arbitrated. But, mark you, an arbitration, if a Christian arbitration, as was the Geneva, is not a compromise. It is the calling in of the best mind and heart to arrive at a fair and honest judgment, in order that the wrong may be avoided and the right accomplished. Now, a matter involving so much as a right position and method toward this evil of liquor-traffic simply means that if, in its settlement, the thing that hurts the people remains, then it is that nothing is settled.

We compromised with slavery, but it was based on the continuance of slavery. This was regarded as a settlement, so much so that Stephen A. Douglas asserted his everlasting silence from that time on. But did it settle it? No. Why? Because the evil that was a grief to God and conscience remained to disturb. Nor did Mr. Douglas himself remain silent. Pile on your license tax as high as heaven; but if the liquor-traffic remains as the cause of a blighted hope, a wrecked home, a broken heart, or to wring a tear from the eye of a babe, it is unsettled; and nothing will settle the question until that which harms humanity, insults God, and debauches Church and State, goes out of existence forever, and that, too, without compromise or compensation. *Unconditional surrender*

of wrong is the mandate of Heaven—and you can not alter or amend the rulings of the Almighty.

To the point: What is a Christian citizen? and what his duty?

I do not mean the man who looks, acts, eats, sleeps, wears clothing, and lives in a house like a Christian, nor who speaks the language of Christian civilization. There sits a man in this audience who says that he does not believe the Bible. If I should request you to form a line around this room by standing against the wall, and invite a stranger to separate the goat from the sheep,—not knowing, he would be as liable to lay his hand on a sheep and lead him out. Why? Because the unbeliever has been environed by Christian society and influence until he has taken on the outer adornment of Christian civilization. Well, to put him at ease, I will say that he is not the man I am after. But yonder sits a Christian man, who professes to accept Christ as the man of his counsel and infallible example in all things, citizenship not excepted. I have a word with him, and others will please excuse me if I devote my remarks from this on, personally, to him. So, my dear brother, just a word: Do you accept this statement from the lips of the Master you serve: “If ye love me, keep my commandments?” His reply is: “Most assuredly I accept that precept.” Very well, do you accept this statement that relates to making practical the precept: “He that saith he abideth in Him *ought himself to walk even as he walked.*” My good brother replies: “I can not gainsay that truth.” Very well, when you

walked down to the ballot-box and voted a ticket that had the smell of political complicity with whisky on it, did you think that you walked as Christ would walk? I see my brother is bowing his head. I hear a subdued prayer. If guilty of violating example as well as precept of Christ he prays: "God be merciful to me a sinner."

But what does the apostle John mean by the words, "He that saith he abideth in him [Christ], ought himself to walk even as he [Christ] walked?" This: In the days of the apostle there was a controversy as to whether religion was to alter the state of sin in man. Religion by one was held as idealistic, also of the soul, but not affecting bodily action. A man could hold one thing at the altar, another in his daily intercourse with the world; pray one way and vote another. No, says the apostle, that will never do. He that saith he is born of God, and committeth sin, is of the devil. In other words, "*He that saith he abideth in Christ, ought himself to walk even as Christ walked.*"

'A heart in every thought *renewed*,
And full of love divine;
Perfect and right, and pure and good,
A copy, Lord, of thine,—

is the doctrine of John.

Two PROPOSITIONS.

Brother, permit me to make two propositions, both of which I have reason to believe you will accept: 1. Christ's policy is your policy. 2. His method is

also yours. You answer: "Certainly; no Christian can reject either proposition." We are ready, now, to reason together.

First, as to Christ's policy. Let us read a few planks in his platform:

(a) "For this purpose was the Son of God manifest, that he might *destroy* the works of the devil"—not "regulate" the works of the devil, nor "license" the works of the devil, nor "tax" the works of the devil for the purposes of "revenue," but **DESTROY**; not even "compensate" the devil for the loss of his "works" by this destructive policy of Christ.

(b) Once more: "Every branch that my Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be *rooted up*"—not "regulated," nor "licensed," nor "taxed" for purposes of "revenue," but "**ROOTED UP.**" Can any man persuade himself that this gigantic Upas-tree, under whose branches (saloons) near a hundred thousand graves are dug annually, is a tree of God's planting? No. What, then, is the policy? *Root it up.*

(c) Once more: "Better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the depths of the sea and drowned, than that he should offend [make to sin] one of these little ones that believe in me." This is a terrible, but at the same time a merciful, doctrine. Far better for the man himself, say nothing of his victims, that he should be "cut short in righteousness" before guilty of one transgression, than that he should suffer himself to become a center, in God's moral heritage, of a tide of influence set in motion, that will sinfully affect genera-

tions unborn, and thus heap upon himself wrath against the day of wrath. Who can deny, while the element of a terrible judgment is here referred to, that, for all that, it would be a merciful thing for the evil-doer if he were prohibited? This is the policy of Christ.

Now, secondly, *his method*. This is civil government, the same divinely instituted when God called Abraham. Its administration was an essential feature in the qualification of Abraham, the man of faith—moral fidelity—namely, “to do justice and judgment.” It was upon this condition of faithful administration that God could do for Abraham all that he had spoken concerning him. The same still applies. Read Romans xiii. It certifies that civil government is an appointment of God. This “higher power” is “ordained of God,” to be a “terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well.” Mark you, it is that civil government ordained of God, not of the devil, that Paul refers to. We have much civil government ordained of the devil, a terror to good works, and a praise to them that do evil. Why is divinely appointed civil power called the “higher power?” Can anything be higher than the Church? It is the “higher power” because its administration has to do with society as a whole, while the Church can only take cognizance of its membership, and even then have no corporeal authority, but purely moral and spiritual oversight. And yet the moral and civil codes are in a certain sense blended. In other words, God’s moral law applies in all domains. As the

Church is to better men morally, so is moral influence to touch the "higher power," and make it a better civil agency for the protection and good of society and the State. In the political realm, the attempt is made to divorce the moral and civil domain. When elected president of McKendree College, the oldest institution of learning west of the Alleghanies, I little thought, that political parties were interested to know what text-books on political science were used in our institutions of higher education. A new work was placed in my hands, with the request that I introduce it if I could see my way clear to do so. I examined it, with the promise that if I thought it an improvement on the old, I would make a change. I discovered that the precedent laid down was, in effect, that political economy had to do with the increase of the material interests of the country, and that only. I hoped, by further perusal, that this proposition would be relieved from its objectionable feature, but in vain. I respectfully declined to exchange the old, reliable text-book that taught that, while material interests were looked after, moral interests as well came in for serious consideration and protection, and returned the new intruder and retained the old stand-by. What is political economy? Passing by long quotations from various authorities, I believe that Charles Sumner is credited with the best and most comprehensive definition, namely: "Political economy is the application of moral principle to civil government." Where may it not apply, and in not applying, confusion worse confounded has

followed. I am safe in saying that, in the absence of the application of this principle to affairs of State, we record the wrongs and resultant discord in nations. By its application, wars will cease, and "man's inhumanity to man" will be known no more. The citizenship of Christ carries with it the *exemplary idea*.

Christ, in Luke xiv, 26, says: "Whosoever doth not bear his cross and *come after me* can not be my disciple." Then follows the illustration of the man who built a tower, or rather attempted it, without first sitting down and counting the cost. It was a miserable, a disgraceful failure. "All that passed by, mocked, saying, This man began to build and was not able to finish." A tower is used in Scripture to denote a place of both strength and defense. It illustrates true character, which is both a source of strength and of defense. Some conceive the notion that such can be constructed upon a basis of conflicting principles. It can not be done any more than a house divided against itself can stand. This Nation, said Lincoln, could not long survive part slave and part free. Just as truly it can not long survive part drunk and part sober. No more can man build up a true character upon principles part vicious and part virtuous. His miserable failure will find him sitting in the *débris* of his ruined "castle in the air," the object of contempt and mockery. Christ places before us no such example, but one, on the contrary, which represents the infallible standard of righteousness. Paul says, "*Follow me as I follow Christ*," as if to say, I am worthy of no man's emulation only so far as I

reflect the image of the Master in his fidelity to moral law.

Is not this the point that pinches the feet of evildoers when you insist that they shall wear gospel sandals? With others there is a dislike to such blending of religion with human conduct, and particularly with the duties of citizenship. I heard of a man who said, with a good deal of impatience at this close putting of the truth: "There are two things, in my judgment, that preachers have no business to meddle with; namely, politics and religion." I suppose Satan himself would agree with him.

I heard of a good old lady down in Kentucky who greatly admired her pastor for virtues he possessed in an eminent degree, and she was always boasting of him. The pet expression she usually used was this: "He's sich a good man." A friend heard this constant praise of the pastor, and, anxious to hear him preach, one Sabbath embraced the opportunity. He thought it the "poorest stick" of a sermon he ever heard, and said to the old lady that he would like to know, in her estimation, what the strong points were that she saw so conspicuously developed in her pastor. Her enthusiastic reply was: "He is sich a good man; he never preaches no sorter doctrine, nor nothin'." But God will mix things for us if we do not. This "good Lord, good devil" religion extant in the world can not long exist without rebuke, especially when it involves the vast interest we now have in hand.

I once heard of a man being soundly converted,

who never paid his debts. A creditor of long standing met him next day, and said: "I congratulate you upon your happy change of heart. I trust you may now see your way clear to pay that debt you have been owing me so long." The man shrugged his shoulders, and with self-composure said: "I want you to understand, sir, that religion is religion, and business is business," and did not pay it. So some professed Christians vote to-day as if politics were politics and religion is religion, and with perfect complacency pray, "*Thy kingdom come*," and then go down to the ballot-box and vote for the devil's kingdom to *stay*.

Thus, in Paris, Ill., an ex-member of an Annual Conference, in an "official capacity," puts his signature to the slum licenses of his city; a Methodist preacher, mayor at Effingham, Ill., does the same thing, and when the presiding elder asks in the Quarterly Conference business, "Are there *any* complaints?" answer, *No!* And thus it is that Pana, Ill., could afford a Baptist deacon as mayor; likewise Bloomington, Ill., another Baptist deacon for liquor mayor, who can welcome the Brewers' Convention to his city; thus Champaign City, Ill., can boast a Congregational deacon for license mayor, and Ava, Ill., has its Presbyterian elder as liquor president of Town Council,—all of whom are in good and regular standing in their Churches. Their names appear in two conspicuous places; namely, on the Church record and saloon license displayed in the dram-shops of their respective towns. And in each institution, the Church and the

saloon, they are "official" members. God save the mark!

No man can go far astray if he accepts Christ as the indicator of his conduct in his duty as a Christian citizen.

I have a book in my library called "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," and its contents are indicated by the title. An illustration in that serves a purpose at this point. In effect it is this: A wealthy father goes from home, and for the first time leaves all the affairs in the hands of his son. The son has never before had such trusts committed to his keeping. He has, however, had the example of his father before him, and from his acquaintance instinctively knows what his father would do. One day, while looking after affairs, he reaches a point that confuses him. He calls a halt, and inquires: "What shall I do?" He asks: "What would my father do if he were here? O, I know what he would do. Then if he would do thus and so, how would my father have me do? Certainly, just as he would do the work himself." Thus the dilemma is relieved and duty clear.

Well, my brother, Jesus Christ has been in this world; but when he left it, he committed to you his rich trust of life, character, and influence. In the affairs of life you are expected to discharge this trust as he would. You are supposed to be so intimately acquainted with him that instinctively you will, in every dilemma, solve the problem of conduct as he would do it.

Among the trusts providentially committed to your keeping is the ballot. Election-day is coming, license or no license, Constitutional prohibition, prohibition in politics, or some such issue involving a moral question, faces you. You begin to inquire: "In view of my relation to my customer, my partner, my client, my patient, who does not see eye to eye with me, what is my duty on election-day?" Are you a *Christian* man; that is, *follower* of the Lord Jesus Christ? Yes. Then, why do you ask such a question? Instead, you should ask: "In view of my relation to God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, and day of judgment, what is my duty?" So that relief may come to the mind, you now begin to ask, in the midst of your confusion: "What would Jesus do if he were here? O, I know what he would do? Then, if he would do thus and so, how would he have me do? Just as he would do; and you vote just as you believe your Master would. Now, my brother, can you work yourself up, or rather down, to the point of believing that the Christ you serve will ever lead you by his example to vote any ticket with the smell of liquor on it? No, sir. Then, if you instinctively know that he would not do it, why do you—or how can you conceive the moral possibility of a follower of Christ voting a liquor-scented ballot? But if you are not a *follower* of Christ, if he is not your example, God only knows what sort of a ticket you may be led to vote. This I know, that the saloon-keeper votes as he *preys*,—certainly you ought to vote as you *pray*. The distinction is in the orthography of the words. If he votes as he preys on

the people, certainly you should vote as you pray for them. For conscience' and consistency's sake read Romans ii, 17-29, and make your own comment; and do not forget to make the application as well.

On this point of example I recall an incident occurring during my pastorate of a Church in Illinois. One day, when passing the high-school building, the professor came out and walked me up into the higher department, and insisted on a speech to the pupils. I had made no preparation for the occasion, and said to the young people that they must help me out in the matter of speech-making. So I began by asking: "Why do you go to school?" All held up their hands and answered: "We go to school to learn." "That is a good answer," I said. "But it suggests another question: What do you want to learn for?" Every hand went up, and I looked for another chorus in answer, but none came. I waited, but in vain; and so hand after hand dropped, until all were down. I said: "Is there not one here who can tell me what they want to learn for?" And so I waited for reply. In a little while a lad on a back seat held up his hand. I said: "What is it, my young friend?" He stood up and answered: "I go to school to learn to be good." I replied: "That is a splendid motive for learning." But I could not understand why he gave that reply unless he knew I was a preacher, and he had conceived the notion that it was the business of the preachers to get the people to be good, and if I only knew that he came to school not only to learn but also learn to be good, that ought to be a satisfactory reply.

But I said to my young friend: "Your answer, good as it is, suggests another question: "What do you want to be good for?" He did not hold up his hand; none of them held up their hands. I then said to all: "Suppose I go to school to learn, and I succeed in learning all that is to be learned, mischief left out. After reaching the highest attainable point in that school, I then turn my attention to the acquirement of goodness, and I get as good as good can be. After attaining the highest point of possible perfection, and with no other purpose than learning to be good, I stand out on the edge of this platform with my mantle of goodness drawn closely around me, what am I good for?" Every hand went up and the school shouted in a chorus: "*Good for nothing!*" They shouted correctly, and in the appropriate place,—it was not "at a venture."

Now for the application: *God has no purposeless goodness in nature or in grace.* It is the purpose of grace to fill a man with goodness that, like the Christ he serves, will touch the moral universe to its extremities. It is the purpose of nature's law in an atom that, touching it, its presence shall be felt to the remotest planet. I think you see the point. Let us enlarge it. My Christian life affects my relation to all departments of life. I am a husband, but I am a *Christian* husband. Therefore, my religion affects my relation to my wife, and I am a better husband for it. There sits an old sinner who says: "Well, I do n't see how you can love your wife any more than I do mine, and I am not a Christian." I did not say

I loved her *more*, but *better*. It is not a question of *quantity*, but of *quality*. So I have a better affection for my religion. But I am more than husband—I am a neighbor also. But I am a better neighbor for being a Christian neighbor. So my religion affects my relation to my neighbor, and is better for it. But I am still more than husband and neighbor—I am a citizen of a great State, the subject of government. I am a better citizen for being a Christian citizen. I know where my religion applies in the betterment of my relation as husband and neighbor; but where does it practically apply in my citizenship? There is but one point where it touches and is felt, and that is the ballot-box. I am a *better voter* for being a Christian voter; for there I can demonstrate that true political economy is “the application of moral principle to civil government.” I say that our Christianity in citizenship has lost its purpose if the ballot we cast is not an expression of right moral sentiment.

To get a little nearer to you with the application of this principle, permit me to say to you, my Christian brother, that you know that political parties, as we largely have them, must make terms with the liquor-traffic. Can any bargain satisfactory to this wicked traffic (and it will agree to no other) be satisfactory to you? No. If not, then why, in the name of the Christ you serve, do you vote along the line of a bargain of that kind? What is your reply? “Well,” you say, “it is the best I can do; and if I can’t get what I want, I will get what I can get; and so, if I can not get a whole loaf, I will take a



half loaf." For shame! "What!" you retort; "if you can't get a whole loaf, won't you take a half loaf?" No, sir; if I can not get a whole loaf, I will not take a half loaf. Is this fanaticism? No, sir.

Permit me to explain. When I travel much, as I lecture over the country, I must come near turning night into day, and day into night. Where I lodge, I usually request that I be permitted to sleep late in the morning, to regain needed rest. When I appear for breakfast, the good lady of the house is sure to say something about as follows: "Dr. V., the family [or boarders, as the case may be] have been to breakfast and left but a half loaf. Will that be acceptable?" I answer: "Certainly, with thanks." Why so? Because I know that the half loaf offered me is the same sort of bread the others had eaten shortly before. But this is not what the politician offers us. He says: "If you can't get a whole loaf of well-baked, well-rounded, pure white prohibition bread, take this half loaf we offer you, soaked in high-license whisky." If that good lady had offered me a half loaf soaked in rum or poison, I would have refused it. Nor do I take my political "half loaf" soaked in whisky any more than I would the other. The politician would have you believe that his liquor-perfumed bread is a half loaf of the very kind of bread you are seeking. Be not deceived.

I never think of the "half-loaf" proposition but this incident occurs to my mind: Once, when delivering a series of lectures against license, a Christian man in the audience wrote this question on a slip of

paper, and sent it up for me to answer: "If a Christian finds it to his interest to vote a license ticket, is he justifiable in so doing; and if so, to what extent?" Without explanation as to what he meant by "his interest," I replied: "Is a man justifiable in attempting to ride two horses at the same time going in opposite directions; and if so, to what extent? Each has its appropriate calamity for the man who will attempt the feat."

Kindred to this argument is that other familiar saying: "Between two evils, choose the less." No, sir, I will not. Why? Because there is no such proposition in moral science relating to actions involving moral principle. There is not extant a text-book on moral science, accepted in the standard institutions of learning, that contains the proposition, "Between two evils, choose the less." Between the first and the last verse of the Bible, can you name an instance upon record where God ever placed, as a part of his dealing with moral agents, a man where he was expected to choose between two evils? Where God never places me, no man nor party shall place me.

You say: "How can we account for the apparent reasonableness of the proposition, 'Between two evils, choose the less?'" It is a reasonable proposition, but it does not belong to the moral realm, but to the physical. The mistake of many is in taking this reasonable proposition from the physical and inserting it within the moral realm, and thus making it an unreasonable proposition.

Dr. Jutkins forcibly illustrates the point thus: "You are in danger of losing your life. A physician steps in and says, 'If you will submit to one of two things, you will live; namely, have either your little finger or your right arm amputated, and you will live.' You promptly say, 'Between two evils, I will choose the less,' and have the little finger taken off." There is just as little logic and sense in a man trying to solve a physical problem by the application of moral science as there is in trying to solve a moral problem by principles applying in the physical realm. There is a striking analogy between them, but each has its own domain of action separate and apart from the other.

In the moral realm, God says: "Behold; I set before you *life* and *death*, *blessing* and *cursing*, *good* and *evil*; *choose ye!*" But never did he say, "Behold, I set before you two evils; choose the less." It is the same old appeal of inspiration: "How long halt ye between *two* opinions? If the Lord be God, serve him; if Baal, then serve him." "Ye can not serve *two* masters."

A minister came to me on one occasion, after I had made this point, and inquired: "Do I understand you to say that, between a great affliction and a less affliction, I am not to choose the less?" I replied: "I did not refer to physical but to moral evil; in other words, between a big devil and a little devil, I do n't propose to choose any devil at all." He seemed, with this explanation, to understand me better.

A CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE.

I remember distinctly being corrected in my theology by a man reputed to be a skeptic. He was a lawyer, and true to the instinct of the lawyer, he would ask questions. He was, withal, a Prohibitionist. After my speech, he said to me: "Dr. V., you said to-day that we should have a *Christian* conscience in this matter of voting. May I ask if you do not 'get the cart before the horse?' Is it your conscience or Christ's that is to be reflected in the ballot? Paul says, 'I live; nevertheless not *I*, but Christ liveth in me.' Likewise ought you not to say, when you go to vote, 'I have a conscience in this matter; nevertheless, not my conscience, but Christ's conscience in me?'" It awakened a train of serious thought. Is my conscience limited in its decisions by ignorance and prejudice, the indicator of duty; or am I to strive to reflect the conscience of Christ in my citizenship? It was a matter of conscience with Saul that he verily thought he did God's service by persecuting the early Church; but being filled with a knowledge of Christ, he "determined to know nothing but Christ and him crucified." "To LIVE IS CHRIST."

I can but think there is no half-way ground in our relation to this "covenant with death and league with hell." We are either for or against. Christ said: "They that are not with me are against me, and they that gather not with me scatter abroad." And just as truly is apathy without justification. Indiffer-

ence is a crime in God's sight. He said to his prophet: "Curse ye Meroz; curse ye Meroz; curse ye Meroz bitterly." What was the matter with Meroz? What had Meroz *done*? Simply *nothing*. Hence God says: "Curse ye Meroz bitterly; because they come not up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." This foe, mighty in wealth, political influence, and arrogant power, is the giant that defies the armies of Israel.

Our little party, which we may call David without the armor of government, is about as contemptible in the eyes of an army that pretends to fight this battle for us, and does n't, as was the beardless youth who kept his father's sheep, in the eyes of the army of Israel and his brethren, and his *smallness* and *youth* accordingly thrown into his face. But as the battle is not to the strong nor the race to the swift, so, by the aid of Him against whom majorities are powerless, we will be victorious. We have reached the front of the battle, where we see the giant form of this Goliath of Alcohol, and hear and see his cursing and wrathful foaming. The next moment the sling shall bring the monster down. The next his beheading and its triumphant presentment to the Government, while all political Israel will join in the chorus, "Did n't we kill Goliath?"

Brethren, commitment to principle is the order of the hour. Back yonder God had a Church that was lukewarm, and God said: "I would that thou wert either cold or hot; but because thou art neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth." A sick-

ening sight, that turns to moral and spiritual vomit, is the Church or Christian man who, in God's sight, is neither cold nor hot—neither for nor against an evil.

I have one closing thought to suggest. A man who aids or abets the liquor-traffic by his ballot will go to judgment before God with human blood on his hands. A man once said to me: "I will vote as I please, and for license if I see fit to do so; and then, if a man is fool enough to go and kill himself with drink, that is his lookout and not mine." And this man was in good and regular standing in his Church. I said to him that his position was absolutely wrong. You are your brother's keeper. You are expected to know where he is. If you have left him bathed in his own blood at your violent hand, you are guilty. If you have exposed him to death by others, you are alike guilty. Man is not only responsible for his own act, but for consequences growing out of his act also. He is accountable for indirect as well as direct damages. This is not only the law of God but of the civil powers of earth.

In that marked instance of the Geneva Arbitration, a body representing the civil powers of Europe and America assembled to fix a just settlement between our country and England, it was decided that not only should England be responsible for direct but indirect damages as well, and she was assessed accordingly. We are bound to respect the precedent set by such an august and learned tribunal.

When God would honor a man by permitting him

to build the temple, he did not bestow that honor upon David *because he was a man of blood*. Was David blameworthy because he had fought many an honorable battle and won victories in accord with the principles of righteous warfare? What, then, was the ground of the charge "a man of blood?" Doubtless the shameful murder of Uriah, the soldier patriot, was in the mind of God. Did David draw the sword, hurl the spear or javelin, or throw the stone that took the life of this brave man? No, he was far back in the rear of the fight when it occurred. What, then, was the ground of David's responsibility for Uriah's death? He gave the command that put Uriah in the forefront of the battle and exposed him to death, and thus the brave man went down. He did that which resulted in death. It was no shield that David should say, "The sword killeth one as well as another." So it is with some of you who are far in the rear of this battle with rum and its temptations—far in the rear, where you seem safe from the shafts of death that bring down other men. *You give the order by your ballots* that puts many a good man, though weak, in the forefront of temptation, and thus outrage his wife and children by exposing them to influences more ruinous than battle and death. *You are a man of blood*, and God will surely deprive of honor the Church and community that thus stands related to this traffic, and give to others the reins of government that will secure the reign of peace and deliverance from this destroyer. The revenue derived from the liquor-traffic is *blood-money*.

There are 170,000 saloons in the United States. I am confident that I am not exaggerating when I say that for each saloon there is one grave dug annually. Standing by the precipice of the Niagara, on the Canada side of the Falls, I read the sign, "A man went over here." Twelve months from the time you read this incident, you may go to each saloon in America and nail up this sign on the door-post, "A man went over here." What you know to be true in your own community, is occurring in every saloon-cursed community in the land.

In a little town called Morrisonville, in Christian County, Ill., is a grave-yard, bought and paid for by whisky-license money. Well, that was as pious in part as the high-priests and Pharisees, who refused to let the thirty pieces of silver go into the treasury because it was the price of blood, and so bought a grave-yard with it. Since that grave-yard has been opened, bought, and paid for by "blood-money," fifty-three graves have been opened in it for the reception of fifty-three victims of the Morrisonville liquor-traffic. I suggest that the appropriate text of Scripture should be in large letters over its entrance, "It shall be called the field of blood unto this day." It is a business of blood, and its revenue blood-money.

In Central Illinois I was pastor in a city of three thousand people. One year liquor was voted out. Not a drug-store could keep it to sell, except upon the prescription of a physician designated by the City Council. At the end of that year a gentleman who had voted the anti-license ticket was found to be a

candidate on the license ticket. In a conversation on the merits and demerits of the rigid but splendidly successful administration of the year before, he stood up stoutly for license. He said: "I think that last year we had too much of a good thing. If liquor is needed, it ought to be easily available. Why," said he, "last year I knew a man in the country whose wife was dying. It was in August, and he hurried his horse into town until the beast was as wet with sweat as if he had ridden him in the foam of the sea. He came right up to this drug-store [kept by a member of my Church, and in which we were talking], and he could n't get a drop; and I think it is an outrage and a shame when a man's wife is dying, that he cannot get whisky to save her." He said this with great vehemence. I said: "My friend, that was too bad—a tough case against prohibition. But did she die?" He dropped his head as if something else had dropped, and answered, "No." "Did she get well?" "Yes." "And did she get well without whisky?" "I suppose so—they could n't get it for her to get well on." I replied: "Then she did not need it to cure her." Pushing the argument further, I said: "My friend, do you know of a doctor in this city that ever lost a patient *for the want of whisky?*" He did not know. "Did you ever hear a doctor in this city say that he *knows* that he lost a patient *for the want of whisky*, and would be qualified by oath to the fact?" He could not say. I continued: "You say that last year liquor could not be had in this city at a drug-store. Do you know of *one* death out of these three thousand people

that occurred *for the want of whisky?*" He did not think there was one. I said further: "You have known this city since the first house—a saloon—was built in it nineteen years ago. From then till now you have had from seven to thirteen saloons, with one year's exception. Do you know of a single year of open saloons in all these years but what somebody died just because they got whisky?" In reckoning up, the revelation was made that from seven to thirteen graves had been dug and filled with bodies that died just because they got whisky. I said: "Are you, then, in the face of these facts willing to exchange an administration of affairs in which you yourself testify that not one person died for the want of whisky for one in which many will die just because they get it?" He could not answer my argument, but continued the candidacy, the saloon returned, and among its victims were friends, neighbors and acquaintances of this gentleman.

It will be of interest to you, my hearers, to institute an inquiry along this line. In your village or city has any one died for the want of it? No. On the other hand, you also know that every year that passes over the town with open saloons, there are those who die just because they obtained the liquor. Then is the question plainly stated, Are you in favor of a dispensation, *nationally applied*, the benefits of which will be thus enlarged and far-reaching, which will bring on a reign of law under which nobody will die for the want of liquor; or do you prefer a dispensation of things in which you know there is not only

a possibility, but a probability that amounts to a certainty, that thousands upon thousands will die just because they get it? Did I hear you say that "the principle of regulation is eternal, and be it known to all men that your party is forever committed to it?" Did I hear you say that the liquor-traffic shall be a "permanent resource for revenue," and that for this "consumers" should pay the tax? Did I hear you say, like a certain statesman; like certain parties in Iowa, Ohio, and Indiana; like the National Convention of Distillers; like Jeff Davis in his opposition to Constitutional prohibition in Texas, and like the devil; namely, that you believed in "dealing with the evils resulting from the liquor-traffic," while you pass by the source of resultant evils untouched? *Then are you a man of blood!*

God's promise in Eden of redemption was not that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's *tail*, and he bruise her *head*; yet verily this seems to be the political order. God's order is that "thou shalt bruise *his head*," which means to attack the citadel of brains and blasphemy that sets in motion the trail of woe. It is the "head" that plots the deeds of deviltry that God would have smitten. O, my brother, hear it: "*Better is a little with righteousness than great revenues without right.*" This was the utterance of him who was honored of God in building the temple, because he was not a man of blood, nor was the element of sinful revenue represented in any part of the glorious building. God grant that indifference upon this subject may be supplanted by lively conviction.

tion and activity, and that, too, along the line of Christian principle and citizenship.

“Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”
Nothing to you, that your sisters fall
Through the pressure of want into Satan’s thrall;
Stricken and sorrowful, lost and wan,
Shunned of women and scorned of man—
Say, is this naught, that ye pass it by?

“Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”
Nothing to you that they toil and slave
For a scanty wage, and an early grave?
Weary their life, and dull and gray,
Never a pause or a holiday—
Say, is this naught that ye pass it by?

The yearning heart of the Love Divine
That stooped of old from His kingly throne
To raise from the mire of sin His own,
Patiently seeking the lost to save,
Endured to the uttermost cross and grave
That such as these like the stars might shine.

“Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”
Nothing to you that the sorrowful life
Of the drunkard’s child and the drunkard’s wife
Will never cause you to stop and think
What your duty is in this war against drink;
Say, is this naught that ye pass it by?

“Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”
“Nothing to us,” you will answer; “we dwell
In the regions of calms, between heaven and hell;
Seldom, indeed, are our thoughts allowed
To dwell at length on the vulgar crowd;
It is nothing to us, so we pass it by.”

Ye pass it by lightly, yet One above
Who notes in his book of remembrance drear
The widow’s sigh and the orphan’s tear.
“Inasmuch,” he will say, “as ye did it not
Inasmuch as ye reckoned that God forgot,
Strangers ye are to me and my love!”

“God give us men,
Tall men, sun-crowned who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking;
Men whom the lust for office does not kill;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo, Freedom weeps!
Wrong rules the land and waiting Justice sleeps.”

APPENDIX A.

WHICH IS PILATE, AND WHICH HEROD?

THIS short article is inserted as appropriate matter to follow the lecture for Third Party.

Over eighteen hundred years ago two men were candidates for the choice of the people—one was called Jesus, which was the Christ. He said, as a leading principle around which all else clustered: “I came not into the world to destroy men’s lives, but to save.” The other was Barabbas, of whom it was said “that for sedition and murder he was cast into prison.” These two, thus advertised, are for election or rejection. A politician submits the proposition: “Whom will ye that I release unto you?” “The *chief priests* and *elders* persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas and destroy Jesus. . . . And they said, Barabbas.”

The principles these two men represented are on trial to-day. It is optional with the politician as to whether you can vote upon the same or not. One principle is to save *life*; the other is seditious, and destroys life. Two political factions, then—old parties—stood out against each other, and Pilate and Herod were the leaders. Upon the one point they may have had different ways of expressing their sentiments; *but when Jesus was to be crucified, Pilate and Herod made friends.* Read Matt. xxvii, 11-26, and

Luke xxiii, 8-12. God says to the world at large: "Behold, I set before you *life and death, blessing and cursing, good and evil; choose ye.*"

Politically, in the issue before us, which is Pilate and which Herod? When principle is to be crucified, Republican and Democrat parties "make friends;" but as they appear side by side, please answer, Which is Pilate and which is Herod?

*Democratic Party.**

We are opposed to all sumptuary legislation.—*Iowa State Platform, 1887.*

Prohibition and Democracy can not live in the same latitude together.—*St. Joseph (Mo.) Gazette.*

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.—*National Platform of 1884, and reaffirmed by Platform of 1888.*

The Democratic party is not a prohibition party, and has never professed to be. It has not even professed to be friendly to prohibition ideas.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

The Democratic party of Indiana is now, as it has always been, opposed in principle to all sumptuary laws and prohibitory legislation.—*Indiana State Platform, 1886.*

Republican Party.

Prohibition must be prohibited in the Republican party.—*Chicago Tribune.*

Personal liberty is safer under Republicans than it will be under Democrats.—*Chicago Tribune.*

Hundreds of saloons in Ohio are substantially Republican club-houses.—*Cincinnati Commercial Gazette.*

To say that prohibition is a Republican measure is too absurd to be believed, except by such as know nothing whatever of the facts.—*Senator Sutton, of Iowa.*

The Republican party of Iowa is not only not of the Prohibition party; it is not a party of prohibition, and it will not be. On that peg you may hang your hat.—*Davenport Gazette.*

* For the order in which the quotations appear, credit is given to *Solid Shot*, but we have seen proper to place them side by side, that comparison may the more readily be made.

We oppose all sumptuary laws needlessly interfering with the personal liberties and reasonable habits and customs of any portion of our citizens.—*New York State Platform, 1887.*

If the fight [against prohibition] is not made distinctly and emphatically the fight of the historic Democracy, on the lines of its historic principles, it is a losing fight from the beginning.—*St. Louis Republican.*

Democrats are opposed to prohibition in the Legislature and out of the Legislature. Moreover, Democrats are in principle agreed that prohibition is a subject on which the people have no right to vote.—*Brooklyn Eagle.*

Resolved, That the party is opposed to all class and sumptuary legislation.—*Minnesota State Platform, 1886.*

There is no pleasanter sight than to see hundreds of Germans, with their wives and children, in a beer-garden, listening to the music and enjoying themselves as good, law-abiding citizens.—*President Cleveland.*

There need be no mistake in Democratic doctrine. Democrats do not believe in what may be called moral legislation. . . . The Democratic party absolutely and imper-

The Republicans in 1888 are going to fight prohibition with all the weapons known to civilized warfare.—*Chicago Tribune.*

The brewers' interests in Ohio are in no more danger from the Republican than from the Democratic administration.—*Chicago Tribune.*

The Republican party is not a temperance party, and does not believe in temperance legislation.—*James D. Warren, Chairman Blaine Republican Committee, New York.*

The sooner the Prohibition friends become convinced that the Republican party, as a political organization, does not favor the enactment of prohibition laws, the sooner they will have arrived at the exact truth.—*Albany Express.*

It is no use to conceal the fact that the large majority of beer-saloon keepers are Republicans, and that their patrons are largely Republicans.—*Chicago Tribune.*

The Republican party is not in favor of prohibition, and can not be placed in that position without palpable insincerity or duplicity on the part of the Convention.—*Indianapolis Journal.*

The Republican party nationally is not a prohibition party, and it is not likely to be so transformed at any fu-

atively rejects the whole scheme of forwarding temperance by law.—*New York Star.*

There are many people in Ohio who do not think it necessary to wipe out the great brewing and distilling interests simply because the Prohibition people demand it. The way to block the game is to vote the Democratic ticket.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

But we do desire to impress our friends with the fact that their only salvation from absolute prohibition is by voting solid, from constable to President, for the Democratic candidates.—*Southwest, Democratic Liquor Organ.*

Laws unnecessarily interfering with the habits and customs of any people, which are not offensive to the morals and sentiments of the civilized world and which are consistent with good citizenship and the public welfare, are unwise and vexatious.—*President Grover Cleveland, accepting the Democratic nomination.*

The Democratic party of the State of Texas deprecates and will oppose any movement looking to the reopening of further agitation of the question of State prohibition.—*Texas State Democratic Platform, 1888.*

ture date. It does not recognize the liquor question as an issue properly national at all.—*St. Paul Pioneer-Press.*

It is vain to say that the Republican party must and will become a prohibition party. It must and shall do no such thing. Those who are in it simply to make it so might as well go at once, for they will not succeed.—*Cincinnati Commercial Gazette.*

There is nothing in the amendment of Mr. Boutelle which can prevent German Republicans from voting the Republican National ticket. It is simply a declaration in favor of temperance and morality, in which every honest man believes.—*Chicago Tribune.*

There is but one class in America who can take any exception to this declaration [the Boutelle Resolution in the Republican National Platform of 1888], and that class is the party of anarchy. . . . This is as far from an indorsement of prohibitory legislation as temperance is from total abstinence. The Prohibition party has declared that National and State Legislatures ought to make the manufacture and sale of malt and vinous and spirituous liquors a criminal offense; but who except a

Let it be known once and for all that Democrats will kill off all Democrats who are nominated simply because they meet the requirements of this arch-enemy of the Democratic party [prohibition].—*Atchison County, Mo., Mail.*

The prohibition by constitution or general law of the manufacture or sale of vinous, malt, or spirituous liquors would be in violation of individual and personal rights, and contrary to the fundamental principles of free government.—*Illini's Democratic State Platform, 1886.*

It would be as reasonable to consider prohibition in a Democratic Legislature after a Democratic triumph as it would be to consider the convict lease question by a Democratic Legislature after the "indorsement by the people of the Democratic platform denouncing penitentiary leases.—*Galveston News.*

That in view of the brilliant future that awaits California, in the development of its wine interests, we most heartily favor the bills now pending in Congress for the release from taxation of spirits used in the fortification of sweet wines, and the protection of our wine industries from the injuri-

fanatic could distort the declaration of the Republican platform into an equivalent of the Prohibition party's sweeping declaration? . . . Such legislation as this, and not prohibitory legislation, is within the purview of this plank of the platform, and the efforts of Democratic journalism or railroad organs to twist the plank into a prohibition plank must be futile, in view of the common-sense construction which intelligent people will give it.—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

We had nothing to gain by a Democratic victory, just as we have nothing to lose by a Republican triumph.—*Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, November 10, 1888.*

A story has been started in Chicago to the effect that General Harrison is in favor of prohibition. This is a lie. General Harrison is a Republican. On the temperance question, as on all others, he stands with the Republican party. General Harrison is too good a Republican to be a Prohibitionist.—*Indianapolis Journal.*

A desperate effort is being made by the *Enquirer* Gang to shake the Republican German wards.

ous effects of fraud and the unrestricted sale of spurious wines. And we also favor legislation providing for the protection of the wine industry. That we reaffirm the principles contained in the National Democratic platforms, declaring that the Democratic party is unalterably opposed to all sumptuary legislation.—*California Democratic Platform, 1888.*

I have come to the conclusion that the law should be modified so as to permit the selling of beer and light wines on Sunday afternoons in such places as shall be specially licensed for that purpose. In view of the fact that a very large portion of our population comes from countries in which the Sabbath afternoon is used for recreation as well as rest, and that the privilege of taking light refreshments in social gatherings is rarely abused by them, it would, in my judgment, contribute very much to the ease with which we could prevent violations of the law if this concession to the habits and wishes of a portion of our people could be made. As a rule sumptuary legislation is not popular.—*Abram S. Hewitt, Democratic Mayor, of New York City.*

The Gangsters are yelling now that Foraker is a prohibitionist. Is it not rather too late to do this after parading the twin frauds, Leonard and St. John, at Music Hall as assistant Democrats?

Judge Foraker stands firmly on the Republican platform, and that is for the regulation of the liquor-traffic by taxation, according to the Constitution. He is in favor of doing this without delay, with moderation and discrimination, and that's all the business there is in the liquor and temperance questions at present.—*Cincinnati Commercial Gazette.*

There is no reason why any intelligent lager-beer drinker should not be a Republican, and there is every reason why a lager-beer maker should vote the Republican ticket.—*New York Mail and Express.*

There are about thirty Democratic counties in the State (Missouri) where no licenses are issued and prohibition is enforced as hard as it can be. This condition of things indicates that the personal liberty of the Germans is much more seriously threatened by Democratic influences in Missouri than by Republican influences in Illinois.—*Chicago Tribune.*

OTHER LECTURES.

I.

THE RACE PROBLEM.

From Personal Observation.

II.

MENTAL AND MORAL MATRIMONY.

A strong argument in support of Christian Education
and Defense of the American Public-school
System.

III.

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Address the Assembly

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